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RECREATION AND THE TOTAL PERSONALITY

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S. R. SLAVSON

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S. R. SLAVSON

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Introduction

THE REDUCTION OF WORK HOURS in shop and office, the small family, and automatic homemaking devices have greatly increased leisure and idleness. This in turn has created the necessity for devising means for utilizing the extended leisure-time constructively, from the points of view of both individual growth and community health. Recreationists are most concerned with this matter, but it would be a mistake to assume that it is limited to them alone. All persons who are in any way working with people—and for people—must turn their attention to the question of beneficial leisure-time occupations. The parent in the home, the teacher in the school, the foreman in the factory, and the staffs of hospitals and other institutions and social agencies are forced by the pressure of necessity to turn to whatever recreational facilities there may be available to meet the leisure-time and play needs of children and adults.

This pressure is not limited to those who are responsible for other persons, however. Everyone feels the need within himself for some satisfying occupations and diversions that will remove him, psychologically at least, from the activities of everyday living. This craving for difference and diversion is primary and basic to man as a biological, psychological, and social entity. Denying or starving it frequently leads to more or less serious personality difficulties, and a community that fails to supply recreational outlets may in the long run pay dearly for it, both financially and through a loss of human resources.

The growing awareness and the force of the new circumstances make it incumbent upon recreationists to amplify their devices and techniques. A revision of some of the basic concepts and an extension of horizons are of even greater importance. We have attempted to show in this volume that a store of artifices, games, and facilities, though important, are not in themselves sufficient to serve the newly evolving require-

ments. There has been growing a new awareness of the potentials of the human personality and of the conditions for total health. The term "recreation" has been used in a sense opposed to "education," for example. One was physical activity—pleasant and joyful; the other—intellectual and dreary. This dualism was not conducive to man's health and happiness. What was needed was the wedding of the two segments. Education had to become pleasanter and recreation more constructive. This trend has been helped by many of the more enlightened educators and recreationists. The two efforts, while having distinctive contributions to make, are aiming at the same objective—the integration of personality for happier and more effective living.

To a large extent the factor of spontaneity has been ignored, both in the classroom and in the gymnasium. Many recreationists are encumbered by techniques, methods, and procedures, by stocks of games and traditional sports. Resourcefulness and a spirit of play and good fun are lacking. To lose the *spirit* of an endeavor in the *process* is a serious mistake. Recreation would specially suffer as a result of this misplaced emphasis. Since the chief value of recreation is in that it balances the human organism, physically and psychologically, it must be based on self-choice, initiative, and spontaneity. The cultural setting in which recreation occurs needs to be kept in mind as well. The integrative approach to human personality includes all the conditions and influences that shape character. We need also to consider the hidden motivations and cravings that may become troublesome unless expressed in some acceptable form that recreation can provide.

The professional growth of recreation requires it to go beyond anatomy and physiology. It must draw as well upon the sciences of psychology, psychiatry, mental hygiene, and sociology. Man as-a-whole has to be considered in the setting of his total environment and not be dealt with apart from it, as is often the case. Recreation will come into its own and attain a deservedly high professional status when it adds to its present rich store of skills, crafts, and devices these new and promising understandings. Specialties, important as they are, must be buttressed by an understanding of the individual,

his unconscious cravings, his needs. There must be responsiveness to these as well as skills to satisfy them. Such insights will open our eyes to elements in human personality that have been repressed and denied, and make us more tolerant of crass and negative behavior. The task of recreation is to find means to sublimate and redirect these elements into socially acceptable expressions. This particular aspect of our subject has been dealt with in Chapter II, as well as in other parts of this volume.

We have purposely underplayed the neuromuscular and physical aspects of recreation. This was done, not from a lack of awareness of the tremendous importance of adequate muscular exertion in total personality balance, but because in so many excellent works the subject is already adequately and brilliantly treated. The unconscious emotional drives that recreation must meet have been, on the other hand, unduly underplayed; nor have the social and community elements in recreation been adequately stressed. It is because of this that special emphasis is given in this volume to the psychosocial forces in recreation.

Mental-hygiene concepts have been gradually absorbed into everyday living. Despite unfavorable socio-economic conditions for mental health in present-day society, it has made considerable strides. Educators, parents, penologists, medicos, social workers, and industrial leaders have benefited from it. An effort has been made to incorporate in this book mental-hygiene precepts in recreation, for it is through this approach that recreation will make its greatest contribution to our culture and to the individual man.

Recreation is gradually leaving its narrow confines of a craft or specialty with emphasis on techniques and programs, and a minimum of individualization and free choice. Since man lives, by and large, in an unbalanced mileu which affects him profoundly, it is incumbent upon all persons who deal with man in every area—home, education, recreation, and the social services—to attempt to compensate for this imbalance. Recreation holds within itself these very important possibilities. It can meet in many areas the deprivations from which we now suffer: physical underfunctioning, frustration of unconscious

drives, devaluated self-esteem, lack of self-assertion, inadequate creative expression.

The primary motive to pursue and to hunt, which is a biological heritage of man, must be gratified. Only few in ordinary life can act upon this impulse. The laboratory scientist, the author, and the artist are fortunately placed for sublimating these drives; the majority of people are ordinarily denied such possibility. The many autonomous trends that drive man into much undesirable and pathological behavior and responses can be sublimated through adequate recreation; in fact, recreational therapy is an accepted technique in psychiatric practice, and group therapy has many recreational elements in it.

The present volume is an attempt to unify the factors, forces, and groupings in recreation. An effort has been made by the writer to implement theoretical consideration by outlines of suitable techniques, in the hope that such an approach would make this volume of more value to practitioners in various fields to whom it addresses itself—recreationists, educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, staffs of various institutions, and the general community.

The book is a further effort to extend the concept of *integrative education* which the present author has attempted in two previous books—*Creative Group Education* and *Character Education in a Democracy*. It is the writer's view that recreation is an integral part of the total educational experience of man in modern society. Its value can be realized only when some traditional views of recreation are modified or eliminated.

S. R. SLAVSON

May, 1946

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CHAPTER I

The Nature and Scope of Recreation

A HOST OF IDEAS, many of them conflicting, come to mind when one thinks of the meaning and values of recreation. Is recreation an outlet for excess energy; is it a way of escaping the difficulties of life; or is it a device for occupying idle moments pleasurably? Perhaps recreation is a means for filling in voids in one's life, discharging aggressions, satisfying selfish and egotistic strivings or social cravings and impulses. Perhaps recreation is all of these to some and some of them to all at different times and moods. Recreation is age-old and universal. As long as man has lived and toiled in groups, he has indulged in some form of recreation, diversions, or hobbies. Ritualistic festivities aimed at propitiating the gods through dance and music, contest and combat, were forms of recreation in the life of the primitive.

Recreation, being a spontaneous invention of man, must be assumed as derivative of his basic nature, as are all his primary pursuits. If man were differently constituted, if his bodily structure or mental nature were different, both work and play would have different form and content. If man were one-legged or three-legged, he would either not dance at all or his dance would have a different form and pattern. If he could quiescently submit to grinding routine, devoid of the need for changing stimuli and expanding horizons, he would not have to travel, seek adventure, or indulge in fantasy. Could man eliminate his cravings to be with people and to gain acceptance and status, both work and leisure would not only be differently motivated, but they would be differently used.

DRUDGERY, LABOR, WORK, PLAY, RECREATION

Definitions of recreation vary greatly. Although there seems to be agreement as to its nature and function, confusion arises in the attempt to formulate them into words. Recreational

thought is not free from the difficulties men always experience in conveying meaning. In addition, the lines of demarcation between recreation and other types of occupations are not always too clear. Reading, for example, is a common recreational outlet, but does a book reviewer find it recreational? Baseball has more leisure-time devotees in America than any other single hobby, but can playing ball be said to be recreational for the professional ball player? Recreation does not consist of *what* one does; it is rather the motive, attitude, and value of the doing to the individual that gives an activity a recreational significance.

A clearer way of stating this is to differentiate the concepts used to describe man's activities. Pertinent to our present discussion are drudgery, labor, work, play, and recreation. What are the common and contrasting elements in these? All of them convey the idea of activity, but one is aware that activity is performed in each under different circumstances and with a different attitude of mind. Work suggests effort rendered for material returns through which one earns a livelihood. It also suggests that it may be pleasant or unpleasant, that one may find in it a genuine sustaining interest; or it may be an indifferent way of investing one's energies for a remuneration.

The last, however—investing energy for remuneration—approaches the category known as labor. The term "labor" suggests manual exertion, for which the wage one receives is the main source of interest and satisfaction. Work can be either strenuous or light, interesting or indifferent. But labor would not seem to have these alternatives; it is usually strenuous and indifferent. Drudgery is even further down in the scale of negatives; it is definitely uninteresting and monotonous. Even when done cheerfully, it is not inherently satisfying and arouses the image of dislike for the activity.

"Play" and "recreation" are frequently used synonymously, and with good reason. Both are leisure-time activities; both are motivated by pleasure and serve as diversions from the more pressing and serious occupations of daily living. There is, however, a very subtle difference between the two, which may be rather important for our present thesis.

To the child, play is of utmost importance, for it is through

his play that he learns the world. Play is the means whereby the child, in fantasy, comes to know reality. The child scales down the world around him to simpler patterns that he can understand and master, gaining greater security and acquiring power as he does it. The adult world is to the small child threatening and forbidding, and in play he reduces its complexity to the level of his powers and understanding. As he grows and is able to deal with this world, his play activities gradually fuse with reality, until the latter becomes predominant. Through play, also, the child diverts his aggressions, which are part and parcel of his biological heritage. Instead of attacking someone, he bangs at objects or throws a ball. This draining (sublimation) of basic aggressiveness is of extreme importance in socializing him. Where there are no sublimations or substitutions, the child antagonizes other children and adults; and, as a result of their rejection and punishment, he grows resentful and maladjusted.

To the young child, play is life in the deepest and most meaningful sense. Healthy emotions and a vigorous intellect require full release of the play impulse in early childhood. Not only are the emotions distorted by denial of play, but aggressiveness, which can be turned into curiosity, is stunted. Serious activity has an external goal; it is intended to achieve conscious ends. Play has an inner purpose: the purpose of using one's growing powers in order that one may grow further. Through play the child not only develops body and intellect, but also drains off excess energy that otherwise would be turned into himself and create tensions, making him restless, irritable, and anti-social.

Recreation, on the other hand, while implying the elements of play, does not suggest primary growth as play does in the case of the child. Its value lies rather in the fact that it serves the need for relaxation from effort and tension. It aims at psychological and physical balance by bringing into action areas of the body and mind that are neglected in one's daily occupations, and to rest muscles, nerves, and brain cells that become tired or overstrained in the pursuit of one's daily living and working. It is for these reasons, perhaps, that the term "*re*-creation" is employed.

We can also interpret drudgery, labor, work, play, and recreation in terms of goals. Drudgery and labor would seem to offer little satisfaction beyond the material or other external returns. Inherently, drudgery and labor hold no attraction or pleasure. Work, on the other hand, can be inherently pleasurable, although that is often not the case. It can touch off a chord in the worker that engages his full-hearted interest and so offers a degree of pleasure in its performance. In such instances, contrast between work and recreation lies in the fact that work is not voluntary; it lacks the element of spontaneity, and the goal is not the work itself but the remuneration one receives. In play and recreation, the goal is inherent in and part of the act itself. This is perhaps the most important differentiating factor for our present purpose.

It is important to recognize, however, that the differences among drudgery, labor, work, and recreation are, to some extent, subjective. Drudgery may become satisfying work, and work recreation, depending *in part* on the individual's attitude toward it. When one "loses oneself in one's work," remuneration becomes secondary to other satisfactions.

Because recreational activities and interests are chosen freely, they meet more fully people's needs and fancies. Work is not always compatible with temperament and the hidden cravings of the worker. Most often, occupations and professions are not chosen. People drift into them by chance and circumstance; and even when there is a choice, it is influenced by external considerations. One is more likely to choose his recreation deliberately; but even when one drifts into it, as often happens, hidden needs and unconscious trends that seek satisfaction influence the direction it takes.

RECREATION IS MANY THINGS TO MANY PEOPLE

We shall see in other parts of this volume how recreation expresses unconscious drives and physical and emotional pressures. We shall also attempt to understand how interests arise in people with different constitutional and educational backgrounds. At this juncture, it would be profitable to have a kaleidoscopic view of the variety of free-time occupations, commonly observed in our culture. To do this, let us take an imag-

inary walk through a typical American seaside resort and see what people engaging in play and recreation really do.

Here's a large emporium with counters placed in quadrangles and two- or threescore persons seated around them engrossed in a game. At the end of the quadrangle, a man rotates a wheel and calls out numbers. Two young men, girded in change aprons, walk back and forth collecting fees and exchanging coins for the players. Quiet pervades, and the faces of the players are serious as the numbers are called. The players at the counters, with set mien, engrossed and thoughtful, place wooden checkers corresponding to the numbers called on a square card before them. The faces of some express disappointment. A grimace of satisfaction and sometimes of surprise flits over others. Many are immobile and indifferent. This game is known as "Lucky" or "Bingo," and also by other names.

Not far off there is a poolroom. Here young men are intently watching the ivory balls on the tables as they use their cues. There is considerable tension and excitement among the players. The opponents watch intently one another's plays. The bystanders, of whom there are a considerable number at each table, express admiration or disapproval. Some are elated by success, others express regret. A group near the door stand around idly and talk. Furtively, they pull out slips of papers; apparently they are playing horses or "numbers."

As we continue to walk through this typical American seaside resort, we come upon a tall structure, its latticed columns supporting narrow-gauged rails, with various inclines and sharp vertical curves. This is the famous roller coaster. The gay young people in the cars scream with delight and, in some instances, with fear at a particularly sharp dip or turn. They are in a state of utter abandon and joy. Some inner emotion seems to be released as they are thrust down and up, up and down, at the mercy of gravitational and centrifugal forces.

Not far off on the sand two young men playfully spar. Quite a crowd gathers around them to watch the performance with evident glee. Periodically, the bout assumes a more serious nature. A right upper cut is landed on the chin of one, and a left hook successfully makes the other stagger. What interests us, however, is not the fighters. Rather, our attention is drawn

to the spectators, who find this byplay engrossing enough to spend their leisure time in observation. Their facial expressions and emotional reactions interest us. Some experience the emotions of combat; they appear to identify themselves with the one who lands a successful blow. Some murmur resentment; others voice approval. Some are vociferous; still others quietly give suggestions or shout encouragement to the two combatants.

Here's a dance hall. On a smooth, crowded floor, a large number of dancers edge their way around to the strains of an orchestra. At tables around the walls men and women, and in some instances children, sip drinks as they banter, talk, and laugh. Their behavior is more or less raucous. The youngsters drink soft drinks, the young people cocktails, the older folk either beer or whiskey. Here they all sit elbowing one another as they absorb the strains of the music and imbibe their drinks, courageously breaking in with a dance or two on the crowded floor among perspiring but happy revelers.

The dancers go through contortions of various kinds. Some hop; some twist their bodies tortuously. Others embrace each other closely; while still others drop their partners and dance alone, seemingly oblivious to their surroundings. There is jazz and rhythm and boogy-woogy. There is release and free expression, as free as the law and minimal decorum permit.

Not far off, some distance away at the end of a pier, a band is playing. Hundreds of people sit quietly on benches or recline on the sand, listening. Some express quiet satisfaction; the faces of others are set and intent. They seem either bewildered or interested as they follow every note of the music, every rise and fall in the melody.

Many lie on the beach inertly, released from the strain and stress of daily tasks, seeking relief from the heat. Others are seated on benches gazing upon the blue ocean, enjoying the gambols and play of the children in the water and on the sand. Out in the surf there are a number of boats, some propelled by oars—by the muscle and brawn of their occupants; others are motor launches putt-putting through and around the bathing crowds. Some bathers break the rules and swim beyond the ropes, taking a chance with their lives as they do so, but the

excitement of danger and courting death seems to be enough of an enticement to take the chance.

Here and there are slot machines of various kinds. Through some one can peep at semi-pornographic scenes that just evade the voluntary vice-suppression agents and the police. Others are bagatelle games. Points are made here in the hopes of winning the "jack pot," but with almost certain conviction that success will never come. Chance taking, however, is a basic need for jagged nerves.

A crowd is clustered around a stand featuring a nickel hot dog and free root beer. Eating is a great pleasure, especially if one throws off all restraint of health rules and hygiene. See them follow up this type of food with a huge frozen custard! Ordinarily this combination would make one quite ill, but not when one eats with pleasure and in the spirit of fun.

Having walked about thus, let us now visit the home of an acquaintance not far away, but in a quieter section of this resort town. On the porch, we meet friends engrossed in a discussion of their last game of golf. The conversation turns from points to skill—the manner in which the putter is handled and the angle at which one must stand to putt the ball at a thirty-foot distance on a slight incline. It seems that the points of the score recede in the background as interest in skill expresses itself and becomes the topic of conversation. In the living room, men and women are trying to keep cool with drinks of a moderately alcoholic content. Even before we enter the room, we hear the following conversation:

"I never liked Wagner; even before Hitler became his ardent disciple. He's too loud, too challenging, too thunderous. People say he's too intellectual. I can't see intellect in Wagner, but I always recognize a tempestuous and destructive drive—an inhuman power. Such music never appealed to me. On the other hand, I find Tschaikovsky too wishy-washy, too sentimental. One thunders, while the other whines. I like melodious music. Perhaps Beethoven is a compromise between the two. Depending on my mood, I would say that I prefer Chopin and Schubert, although Schubert can be a bit weakish, too."

Another woman remarks that she just "adores" Wagner's

operas, particularly his "Ring." At this point a man in the group takes up the conversation:

"Well, I like Wagner because, in some ways, he anticipated modern music. In his day he was a rebel, a revolutionary. He was so hated for his music and spirit that he was driven out of his own home town. He had courage. It is true he was indecent for his day, immoral, dishonest, and irresponsible; but we suppose geniuses have some right to be different from the average man, because they *are* different. Among the moderns, I like Shostakovitch and Malipieri, and our own Copeland. To me they seem to reflect the today and the tomorrow of our times."

Two young men and a woman are seated in the garden with easels, painting the setting sun and the ocean—its wide and deep horizon, the breakers, and the sails of the ships in the distance.

In the evening, the people whom we have seen at play or at rest will attend places of amusement other than those which attracted them during the day. Most of them will wend their way to a theater or a movie. And what do they expect to see there? The eternal triangle must always be present. The villain always falls into the clutches of the hero, who symbolizes the good as against the bad in their own lives. To be fully satisfactory, there must be tenseness, suspense, pathos, tragedy, relieved by comedy and laughter.

THE GENESIS OF PREFERENCES

Whatever the choice of recreation, each individual seeks to satisfy some inner need. He chooses from the various possibilities offered those that meet his particular requirement. We are becoming increasingly more aware that choice of recreation and hobbies is related to inner tensions and to character structure. As we shall see in other parts of the volume, people with aggressive propensities will indulge in aggressive and competitive types of recreation. Persons with considerable hostility, especially when it is carefully repressed and hidden, will take to such diversions as shooting galleries and fox hunting, while individuals with a yearning for utopia and a longing to escape the unpleasantness of actuality may take up poetry as a hobby.

The choice of a particular form of recreation is determined also by opportunities and the influences to which one is exposed

in early life. Preference and choice are to a very large extent conditioned by the *primary communities* of the child—the home and the neighborhood. The building of culture is a slow and prolonged process. Attitudes and values are not transmitted by word of mouth. They are absorbed by the individual, through what may be termed "psycho-osmosis." The child absorbs and makes a part of himself the environment in which he grows, for he literally feeds upon it. If environment is kindly, he will grow up into a kind and gentle person. If it is hostile and coarse, he is likely to become the same.

As far as the actual game is concerned, there is little difference between pool and billiards. The difference lies in the atmosphere in which the two games are played. The emotional quality and aggressive impulses characteristic of the poolroom are present also in the billiard room of a mansion. The difference lies not so much in the motives of the players as in the manner in which the game is played. It reflects the feelings and attitudes of the players produced by the conditions of their lives.

The keener the struggle for existence to which one is subjected, the more primitive and instinctive will the level of his character remain. Poverty offers little opportunity for developing higher values and cultured behavior. If one begins the day by aggressively pushing his way into the subway and riding for an hour or so pressed against the bodies of other people, there grows a directness, bordering on vulgarity. If one's job requires self-assertion, aggression, and being in constant competition with others, it is to be expected that character will remain primitive. People whose daily work forces them to spend the more active hours of their lives in a state of frustration, in dirt and dinginess, cannot develop good manners and aesthetic responses.

WHAT RECREATION CONTRIBUTES

Recreation serves different purposes for different people, and a recreational activity may have different meaning to the same individual at different times. Its pleasurable possibilities lie in the fact that it satisfies some craving or need. This may be the exercise of a set of stagnant muscles, an aesthetic yearn-

ing, or a desire for association with people. It may also serve as an escape from unpleasantness or a need to build up one's ego by winning a game from an opponent. One may feel particularly irritated or angry, and a game of volleyball or a period at wrestling, fencing, or sparring may prove a good outlet.

Thus recreation can serve a number of purposes to suit one's mood, to utilize available excess energy, or to drain off emotional pressure. Some of the services of recreation to the individual may be classified as those that serve as *complementary* experiences, as having *compensatory* values, as serving to *discharge aggression,* as patterns for *regression,* as *escape* from reality, as satisfying *social hunger,* and *as resources for solitude.* It would be helpful in carrying out the plan of this essay to describe these at this point in order to lay an adequate background.

Complementary Experience. Civilization has removed man from his natural habitat and has herded him in large cities and in congested areas. It forced him into occupations that meet his basic needs but little. Work in factories, shops, and offices is often monotonous and barren. Exertion is limited to a specific area of the worker's nerves and muscles only, leaving the major part of his organism unused and unexercised. The nature of man's constitution, however, is such that each set of muscles and nerves craves functioning. Lacking this, tensions are set up that throw the organism into a state of unbalance. More often one is unaware of the existence of these tensions; they manifest themselves rather as restlessness, hyperactivity, irritability, depression, and a vague need of change.

The person who reaches this stage will choose, if opportunity presents itself, leisure-time diversions that complement, organically and emotionally, the daily occupation in which he may be engaged. The office worker is likely to choose outdoor recreation with physical outlets, such as gardening, walking, gymnastics, tennis. The worker who exerts himself physically during the day will be more likely to prefer diversions that excite him but do not involve physical strain. The exceptions to the trend toward complementation are found among intellectual workers and professionals whose free-time occupations are frequently an extension of their professional preoccupations.

This interesting and disharmonious phenomenon requires further study.

When man becomes a tender of machines and his job stereotyped and speeded to the rapid tempo set by motors, he becomes exhausted before he gets tired. He is physically and emotionally sapped by the drain of overconcentrated work. Rest is not always of avail; rather, a change of occupation is necessary. It is necessary to stimulate other areas of the personality than those that have been exhausted. Recreation is often attained through balance rather than rest. Samuel Gompers, founder and first president of the American Federation of Labor, described the situation as follows:

> The old feeling of craftsmanship, which existed before the industrial revolution came about, has been greatly modified because of the perfection reached in machine design. . . . The result is that today men's work tends to become mere toil. So it seems to me that the task that lies before us is to develop a different kind of work environment which will be attractive and will inspire rather than repulse the workmen. The work itself must become of more central concern. This cannot be brought about unless man finds opportunities for self-expression in the day's work and a chance to exercise his creative impulse.[1]

The hope expressed by Mr. Gompers can hardly be realized in a civilization in which the machine is becoming ever more important and ever more perfect. Labor educators[2] and recreationists therefore seek to supply the satisfactions that naturally should come from the job and balance the workers' lives. They seek to give the worker a sense of belonging to a group of his own with which he may have many things in common; they encourage clubs, participation, interchange of views; they supply intellectual and aesthetic satisfactions to balance the physical and nervous exhaustion of working hours.

Compensation. Recreative activities are frequently chosen because they compensate one for organic lacks and counteract emotional monotony. The need for new experiences and varying stimuli, denied in everyday living, are compensated by an

[1] Kallen, H. M., *Education, the Machine and the Worker* (New York, The New Republic, Inc., 1925), pp. 90-91.

[2] See page 183.

overexciting and overstimulating leisure. Hilarity, rambunctiousness, the loop the loop, electric shocks a la Coney Island, card playing, exaggerated and bizarre diversions of every nature, often even drunkeness, serve to compensate the individual for his repressed organic and psychologic impulses. There is, however, another type of compensatory recreation rooted in deeper emotional processes and in the unconscious which will be elaborated more fully in the next chapter. It will suffice to say here that many persons choose recreation on the basis of weakness, feelings of inferiority, and unconscious strivings. Thus the boy who feels himself to be inadequate among his playmates may excel as a trapeze performer or baseball player, and so hold the attention of the group. A girl whose unconscious striving is to attract the father's attention from her brother to herself will not only assume a boy's pose, but will actually become expert at boys' games. And a young man who has been made to feel unacceptable by girls will devote himself to more aesthetic forms, such as literature, music, and science.

The Discharge of Aggressive Drives. That recreation serves as discharge of deeply rooted aggressive drives is too well known to need much elaboration here. Its unconscious meanings, however, are described briefly in the following chapter. We have seen, however, during our imaginary walk through a seaside resort, that many of the diversions and activities are definitely of an aggressive nature. Shooting galleries, wrestling matches, fist fights, bumping into one another both on the walks and in special games and rides are only some of the devices catering to the aggressive impulse. The numerous games of rivalry and competition, such as card playing, chess, checkers, tennis, golf, and baseball, sometimes express the same need.

Regressive Values. The intention of the regressive games and diversions is to throw off the restraints of everyday life and eliminate decorum. This is manifested by people's throwing sand at one another on the beach, splashing friends in the surf, running about, playing hilariously, and generally behaving in a way that is ordinarily considered unbecoming to an adult or youth. Through recreation, regression is sanctioned and even applauded under specific circumstances, and such behavior is often actually good for one. Some of our most popular sports—

such as baseball and prizefights in America, cockfights in Mexico, and bullfights in Spain—derive part of their value from the fact that they fulfill the need of some people for a certain amount of regressive behavior. Every country has national sports that cater to undermature or regressive impulses and interests.[3]

The widespread enthusiasm for baseball, particularly, is of interest to one who wishes to understand and interpret behavior. It is true that baseball combines a number of skills, a high degree of physical development, and the power to co-ordinate many responses. Good ball-playing requires a keen eye, eye-arm co-ordination, fleetness of foot, astuteness to a high degree, and instantaneous judgment. Hitting a well-pitched ball involves eye and arm co-ordination; base running calls for a lightning start and great skill in avoiding being tagged. The pitcher not only has to have the skill and prowess to outwit the batter, but must also be aware of all the men on the bases.

This does not explain, however, why millions of adult men and women become emotionally involved to a point of frenzy and hysteria as they witness the game. A ball game makes many appeals to man's unconscious besides his admiration of skill and physical perfection. The competition between individual players and the teams engages the combative impulses in each spectator. The potency suggested by good batting and swift running, and the outwitting of opponents, strikes a responsive chord in many. The appeal of the home team or the preferred league is also very strong. It brings into play the ego strivings and identification of oneself with the winner, the strong, the powerful, the successful.[4]

The more mature a person is, the more evolved is the form his recreation takes, but most people retain "infantile" needs that call for outlet. The violent "horseplay" type of recreation and many large mass affairs—such as mardi-gras, festivals, and conventions—are designed to let down the bars of self-control and decorum.

Escape from Reality. The need to escape the pressure of one's life is particularly great in modern society. Frustration,

[3] See Chapter II.

[4] For further discussion of this, see pages 8 to 10.

monotony, and anxiety are more or less characteristic of present-day life, and one needs to have some escapes from these pressures. Fiction, moving pictures, travel, "Lucky" or "Bingo," bagatelle, and pinball help one in various ways to withdraw from the actualities of life. Through these, one displaces the disturbing thoughts and anxieties with more pleasurable activities and fantasies. Satisfaction of the escape motive must be viewed as one of the major needs in the choice of recreation.

The need for magic and wish fulfilment are other motives for recreational choice. The need for magic has always been present in man. Primitive groups had their medicine men, whose incantations and magical pronouncements were believed to prevent danger, evil, and catastrophe. Among educated people of modern times, there still persists belief in many superstitions; and numerous immigrants and back-country natives even today resort to sorcery and magical incantations to cure illness and overcome personal difficulties. The unconscious belief in magic and sorcery is revealed by the large number of cultured and civilized people who still have their palms read and fortunes told. Large sums of money are collected on the streets and amusement places by fortune tellers who transform "by magic" invisible writing in tubes of chemicals for the gullible and chemically illiterate. Even the very distinct odor emanating from the tube does not give them away. Printed slips withdrawn by white mice or parrots that purport to predict one's future are a source of curiosity and even comfort to thousands. Magic and miracles are part of our cravings, and the most usual way of satisfying them is through fables, stories, theater, movies, and fiction.

Satisfaction of Social Hunger. Recreation is seldom enjoyed in isolation. The very concept of recreation suggests association. Although some recreation, like hobbies, is indulged in individually, associations exist in every field through which information is exchanged and barter and exhibits are arranged. Whether it is numismatics, ornithology, or entomology, each hobbyist feels himself a part of a larger group who share the same interests and are in communication with one another. The feeling of belonging to a group of persons with the same interest gives impetus to a pursuit, adds meaning and justification, and

raises its value. The fact that a large group shares one's occupation produces a feeling of belonging, of being approved, and it stimulates wholesome rivalry.

However, of even greater value for sharpening interest in a hobby or a game is direct interaction among participants. This is one of the major tasks of recreation—to "socialize" the individual—for through pleasurable experiences with others his disposition toward them becomes more accepting and friendly.

The child begins life as a self-centered entity who has to learn by gradual stages to relate to other people. He has to divest himself of much of his preoccupation with self. This he learns first in taking his mother as an object of affection. He then extends his relations to include other members of the family, and later friends and playmates. One of the major tenets of mental hygiene is that the individual's well-being, happiness, and success as a person are determined by the ease and pleasure with which he relates to people in day-to-day living.

Through recreation, people are brought together in pair and group games, as members of an audience, or as part of a crowd. These more or less personal contacts help each to overcome feelings of loneliness and isolation. The group process, to be discussed elsewhere in this volume, accords with the basic principles of mental health in this respect. To be of greatest value to the individual, recreation needs to be enjoyed with other people. Direct and meaningful interpersonal contacts are of immeasurable value to man under modern conditions. They help him to become socialized and acceptable, and through them his social cravings are expanded and satisfied. People both stimulate and guide one, and give one a feeling of self-assurance and a sense of purpose and direction. Recreation is in a true sense social education.

The occupations of recreation must, therefore, be designed to meet the social needs of the individual and include activities and skills in which he can succeed. Participation with other people satisfies the social cravings of man, in addition to meeting his biological and psychological impulses.

Resources for Solitude. Despite the fact that we have emphasized the social and group values of recreation, one needs to develop sufficient inner resources so as to be able to live

with himself part of the time. Persons who have inner poise and minimal conflict need not be active at all times or escape into the group. There should be periods in the life of each man and woman, and to a lesser extent also of the child, when he would wish to spend some time alone. It is essential that he does not depend entirely upon diversion and company. The capacity to be alone is an indication of a well-organized intellectual and emotional development. Both excessive isolation or withdrawal and a too intense need for people are signs of insufficiency and dependence. Persons who become restless and fidgety as soon as they are by themselves are as disturbed as those who cannot enjoy being with people. Here, too, balance is health. The emotionally wholesome and culturally adequate find recreational satisfactions both in groups and alone, for they have evolved abiding interests as well as self-sufficiency. They are seldom at loose ends or need escapes.

RECREATION AS A SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

If we consider recreation from this point of view, we may accept the dictum that recreational resources exist everywhere, but at the same time recognize that the job of the parent, educator, and recreationist is to attune the individual to these resources and help him develop methods of utilizing them constructively. A person of wide interests, to whom many doors are open, can find outlets in modern society in innumerable ways. The task is to make him receptive and responsive to possibilities. This should be the larger aim of recreation and can be achieved by exposing children, youth, and adults to many opportunities for doing things and for meeting worth-while people. Materials and situations alone are not sufficient; there always are the personal influences that cannot be displaced by materials and projects.

In various stages of community living, recreational resources were introduced and fostered by Government authorities. At the present time recreational resources are offered by many agencies: private, semi-private, and governmental. Among the major agencies that supply recreation in one form or another in American cities are the home, nursery and kindergarten classes, private agencies such as neighborhood centers and "Y" 's, com-

mercial enterprises, Government agencies, parks, labor unions, lodges, clubs and associations, religious groups, special-interest groups, housing projects, resettlements, summer camps, and resorts.[5]

Recreation was not always a consciously organized effort. When people lived in simpler communities, there were play opportunities and socializing experiences everywhere close at hand. To fill leisure time, there were pets and other animals on the farm or in the back yard. There was the village lawn, with groups of children at play. One's own family constituted a play group by itself, since families were large in number and spacing of children close. There were also relatives and visitors aplenty who added to the family play group. Each had his responsibilities—in the kitchen, in the barn, or in the garden—which engaged the child in an interesting and suitable manner. The back yard held cast-off wheels and pulleys to play with, barrels to roll around, and implements and tools children of all ages could use both in play and serious occupations. There was plenty of space, soil, shovels, and spades to build mounds, dig tunnels, and make mud pies. Above all, there was ample space to run about.

Under such conditions, the child's life was lived in his immediate environment of home and community. The school supplemented it by more abstract learning. Physical and, in a sense, spiritual development were amply stimulated by the simple life of the rural community and by the church, which was a dynamic and functioning influence. Moral and ethical concepts and attitudes were passed on from parent to children, and through the total prevailing atmosphere of the community. According to Mitchel and Mason:

> When life is . . . integrated, no play movement is needed. Play movements become necessary only when life and education become artificial in type and in surroundings—artificial in the sense of being unrelated to the existence which the human race has been predisposed to live through countless centuries of evolution—and when life becomes fragmentized, divided and subdivided, specialized and ultra-specialized.[6]

[5] For further discussion of these, see Chapter X.

[6] Mitchell, E. D., and Mason, B. F., *The Theory of Play* (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1939), p. 8.

Concentration of population was an inevitable outgrowth of the invention of steam and the development of machinery. Not only was man torn from his roots in the soil and the security of a simple life, but he was herded into small areas in exceedingly close proximity to his neighbors. Homes began to reach upward instead of spreading out. People now live on top of one another; buildings are contiguous, giving little or no space to move about. Such an environment is unsuitable for adults. It is particularly destructive to children, whose order of growth impels them to run around and engage in large-muscle activities. Such an environment is too complex and too severe for young children. It inhibits their free movement, dulls curiosity, and overstimulates their emotions.

A society with an understanding of mental hygiene would try to ameliorate pressures and frustrations. However, modern society was long in grasping the implications of such a life to the child, and became aware of it only when there were widespread breakdowns in the personalities of many children. These breakdowns were manifested by increased truancy, delinquency, and other types of emotional and social disturbances. It was not until the increase of maladjustments and mental pathology reached an alarming proportion in America that educators, social workers, recreationists, and psychiatrists turned their attention to the conditions under which children live and play in modern cities.

THE EVOLUTION OF A PHILOSOPHY OF RECREATION

The history of American recreation reveals some definite trends and characteristics. We find in the first place a haphazard, unorganized effort on the part of many groups to meet the felt needs of persons within their particular area of activity, in accordance with a traditional pattern and content. The family, the school, the employer, the labor union, the Park Department, the Grange, the fair—all aimed to provide play activities, sports, social contacts, and places where people could congregate.

We are also impressed with the fact that, to a very real degree, recreation, amusement, sports, and what came to be known as physical education are all used synonymously. These are undoubtedly, even at the present time, accepted as integral

to recreation, but the concepts as regards their meaning and functions have been greatly revised. One finds also that, in the past, recreation was not planned or supervised by trained people. Rather, it was incidental to community living, spontaneously arising from social contacts and physical proximity. Play and other forms of recreational activities, as well as leadership, were indigenous, unplanned, and impromptu.

In rural life, where occupations are varied and fill many hours of the day, the need for organized and planned recreation is not as great as in dense populations with extensive earned leisure or enforced idleness. We must also take cognizance of new orientations and values. If we overlook the fact, for example, that in present-day America young and old are activated by a craving for pleasure more than ever before or anywhere else, we shall fall short of understanding and guiding social development.

As a nation, and even as individuals, we are under ordinary conditions freer from subsistence anxieties than we had been in the past. Barring emergencies, we are able as a nation to produce all that is needed and more. We have ample facilities for transporting foods and other essentials. Refrigeration and other means of mechanical and chemical preservation of foods have freed us from many fears and anxieties. The fear of illnesses and death has also been greatly diminished by these same facilities and by an increased knowledge of nutrition and health. Although in America, as in other countries, job security is not guaranteed, there is more security here than anywhere else, except, perhaps, in some Scandinavian nations. There are other conditions that help relieve general tension, fear, and anxiety. In such a state, primary impulses and cravings are freed, and education and the use of leisure become important forces in shaping character.

Two other factors that lead to the intensification of the pleasure drive are the reduction of group pressures and commercial recreation. By the first is meant that there has been a gradual freeing of the individual from the restraints of public opinion and neighborhood censure. In a small community or village, news travels fast and one's doings become quickly known. Under such conditions, censure and disapproval by the

community serve as strong inhibiting and controlling influences. In an urban setting, one can very easily escape such censure and live a life that befits one's fancy. The second factor, commercial recreation, exploits the most primary and infantile impulses, keeping them alive for its own benefits. It is for this reason that rigid control of such types of recreation becomes essential. Recreation is rapidly becoming a community concern, for it is a strong force in conditioning attitudes and shaping character.

Limitation of the Pleasure Motive. Because recreation is a response to pleasure cravings, it must needs be regulated by society or become a menace. Life by pleasure, rather than by work and effort, has always aroused suspicion and been condemned. The pleasurable impulses, as Freud has long indicated, are the perennial enemies of reality by which man can control and direct his life in constructive channels. Pleasure may be a by-product, but it must be restricted as a motive; for he who is directed solely by the pleasure principle is weak and a danger to others. When pleasure becomes indulgence, one grows unable to organize his life; he loses his hold on self and situation.

The controls that society exerts upon recreation and hobbies as pleasurable pursuits are as many as they are devious. There are, of course, direct restrictions by law and public opinion, but there are also the less tangible restraints that are a part of culture. Decorum and social disapproval are among the latter. Still less discernable are the guilt feelings (conscience) built up through direct teaching and indirect education. Morally, in our society, a person is entitled to recreation only when he earns it. There is stigma attached to one who plays without working. American parlance has given such persons a special cognomen that implies derision and cynicism. A "playboy" may command a great deal of publicity, but his pranks and foibles are held up to scorn—not to respect and emulation. Like the eternal triangle among persons, the struggle between the individual and his society goes on forever. The individual struggles against the shackles of the group to indulge himself in his own impulses and pleasures. But society, with its own survival in mind, has resourcefully contrived to keep the individual to his social

moorings. He who breaks away from the mores at a given time has to suffer ostracism and even direct punishment.

However, the inordinate interest in the doings of a playboy, his marriages and peregrinations, unveils the unconscious cravings of the many. Nearly all of us would like to live free lives, untrammeled and unlimited by fear, shame, and taboo, but we are afraid or do not have the facilities. And so we laugh at those who do, for by our laughter we abort the stir of our own cravings. It has been said that in much sorrow there is much guilt. There is however much guilt also in much laughter and derision.

Repressions and Their Release. Hidden and repressed cravings forced into the unconscious by Puritanical cultures and guilt-arousing religion and mores create inner tensions that can be released through suitable work, through relations with people, and sometimes through neurotic symptoms and bizarre and abnormal behavior. Total health cannot reside in a distorted organism. Release from inner pressures balances the pull between the individual and his society, and puts his psychological house in order, as it were. Tensions and emotional stress are relieved where the act fits impulse and need. Thus the psycho-organism is kept in a healthy state. Here is where so-called "diversions" are so very useful.

Leisure-time occupations and hobbies, when they are freely chosen, balance and bring health to the total organism of man. Recreation provides discharge of repressed or hidden cravings and impulses in a manner approved by the group. Pleasure is derived from release of emotions as much as from what appears to be constructive use of one's powers and faculties. Pleasurable outcomes have a negative as well as a positive source.

The Relation of Education and Recreation. Although the pleasure motive must remain the dominant note in recreation, it is now accepted to a more limited extent also in the education of both children and grown-ups. In fact, the belief is gaining ground that the separation of education and recreation is at best an artificial device. A good education includes adequate recreation; it prepares one for constructive and meaningful leisure-time pursuits; it predisposes one for strenuous as well as

pleasurable activities. One can go even further and say that recreation, as modernly understood, is education in its deeper implications; for if education, like recreation, aims to expand human personality by drawing out its potentialities and giving them strength and direction, both have the same objective.

There can be little doubt as to the benefit of making learning pleasurable through creative achievement, group recognition, status, motor and mental satisfactions. A recreation that meets these needs is undoubtedly important in character formation and in social progress, for satisfactions organize and mobilize man's powers. They integrate his many facets for vigorous and unified response and, on a lesser level but equally important, develop skills for doing things and living with people.

Quite recently the concept of activity in education has been extended to include emotional, intellectual, social, as well as hand activity. Activity interests precede abstract learning, and the tendency is toward the education of the personality as a whole. Professor Jay B. Nash says:

> We can assume that before the days of formalized schooling, nothing can be taught to anyone who is not active in learning. The controversial question which arises is, what kind of activity? Everything runs on the meaning implied by this word, "doing." If "doing" includes all of the experiences of the child, supplemented later in life by weighing and judging the experiences of others which he may derive from his reading and conversation, then there is no exception to the truth that one learns by doing. Activity is not just busy work for the hands but a total body-mind doing, which includes muscles, nerves, thinking and emotions.[7]

Out of experience are derived conception as well as perception of the nature of environment. It also lays the foundations for exploration, discovery, and intellectual evaluation. All this arises from direct sensory experience.

The varied aims of the better public schools, as they coincide with those of recreation, have been summarized by Washburn and Stearns as follows: soundness of body; skill of muscle-coordination of hand and mind; efficiency in a vocation to which one is naturally adapted; hobbies for wise use of leisure time;

[7] *Proceedings,* Fifth Annual Recreation Course, New York University, School of Education, Department of Physical Education and Health (New York, New York University Press, 1941), p. 8.

mastery of the tools of learning; knowledge of essential facts; an inquiring mind, interested and alert; ability to pursue knowledge independently; contact with life; the habit of settling social problems thoughtfully and in the light of knowledge; large-group consciousness or the realization of the interdependence of mankind; emotional control and development, with freedom from harmful repressions.[8]

Nonetheless the fact must be accepted that the school, of necessity, cannot permit the same latitude and freedom as does leisure-time recreation. The school as a social instrument has a defined aim, and therefore a more or less specific curriculum. The difference between a traditional and a modern school does not lie in subject matter as much as in the method of teaching and the sequence in which subject matter is taught. Recreation, on the other hand, has no such limiting factors. Each individual is free to use his time in a manner best suited to his needs or wants.

It is commonly assumed that the school is a potent force in character formation, and there is little doubt that failure or success in it may develop positive or negative, desirable or undesirable, character traits and attitudes. Failure in school is an intense social rejection. The injury to the child's ego diminishes or destroys his feelings of self-worth and has important repercussions in his total adjustment as a child and later as an adult. Among children who "fail" in school are to be found pupils with high intelligence quotients. Personality problems other than low intelligence contribute to failure, among which attitudes of parents and teachers play an important part. Frequently, recreational outlets and successful achievement compensate for school failure and strengthen the child's weakened ego and his declining self-esteem. Studies show that delinquents who have hobbies and recreational interests adjust to the community in far larger numbers than those who have no such interests. Recreation must be viewed as one of the larger forces in character development and the formation of the morale of a nation.

Education and recreation do not set the social stage, but they do influence personality sufficiently so as either to increase or

[8] Washburn, Carleton, and Stearns, Myron, *Better Schools* (New York, John Day Company, 1938), p. 7.

lessen social and personal tensions. Even a democracy requires a minimal amount of social engineering in personality development, for just as an oversimple life can be frustrating and depriving, so can the many tensions and hyperactivity of modern life be unnerving. Among the sources of strain and tensions in present-day living are population densities; incomplete transition from rural to urban life, which creates serious organic and psychological tensions; exhaustive, monotonous work; poverty and economic anxiety; physical and emotional imbalance, through specialization and monotony at work and in personal living; commercial recreation; and ambition and drives to "success."

Recreation and Mental Health. In the process of growing up and progressive experiencing the world, the child or youth evolves an image of himself as he perceives himself or as he would like to be. These attitudes toward self become permanently incorporated in his feelings and determine much of his behavior and relationships with people throughout life. One's way of living and acting reflects one's evaluation of himself to a larger degree than is commonly recognized. The bombastic and boastful person is in all likelihood hiding behind his ebullience a deep-rooted feeling of inadequacy and failure, which may or may not be justified. Many persons who really have no cause for feeling insufficient do so because of the image of self that was built in early childhood. It is not unusual to meet people with many endowments and real ability who fail and feel helpless. They simply are unable to mobilize their powers because of a conviction of weakness and failure. Defective perceptions of self are widespread in health matters as well. Persons are convinced that they are ill, though medically healthy. Early identifications, the influence of hypochondriacal parents or nurses, and overprotection create an image in some persons of being weak and unwell that cannot be corrected by ordinary medical treatment. One may perceive himself as grandiose, powerful, and successful beyond justification in reality, while another, otherwise "normal," must debase himself and associate with inferior people and give solace to the "underdog." Some are ridden by feelings of guilt and "badness," while others may go through life with nothing bothering them.

Image projections help or deter one from acting out impulses, choosing relationships, and making the best of one's endowments and powers. The original attitudes toward self are, of course, rooted in the home. In a family where the child's personality is respected, his opinions and acts treated with consideration, and his positive characteristics emphasized, the child grows up comparatively free from doubts and anxiety. However, where his "badness" and guilt are exaggerated, the child evolves an image of himself as bad, unworthy, and weak, which can be counteracted or confirmed by subsequent experiences. When other adults—teachers, ministers, recreationists—continue in the practice of playing up negatives, the child and youth become further convinced of unworthiness; and when school, church, and recreation expose one to stress and failure, the image of one's weakness and unworthiness is further sharpened.

To prevent and correct negative image building, which is so widespread in our culture, is the task of all who are concerned with character formation and the health of the community. There is no single factor more importantly involved in total health—that is, the physical, intellectual, and emotional health of the individual and of the community—than attitudes toward self. In this, recreation and spontaneous group association can play an important role. Achievement and social acceptance build more wholesome self-images and in some instances, as we shall attempt to show later, can also correct distorted images.

It is not possible, however, to rely on psychological factors alone in choosing our recreation, for physical constitution as well is a determining element. Short and stubby persons (pyknic), for example, would naturally not take to the type of athletics that thin, lithe persons do. Nor can persons with pudgy, short fingers be adept at arts and crafts and at fine jewelry as are people with long, thin, and pliable digits. These are among the reasons why recreation must be individualized and free choice of occupations encouraged and allowed. Since there are no means of determining with any degree of certainty the needs of individuals, free choice is the most reliable technique that can be employed in the practice of recreation.

The concept of total health has been so admirably and

simply stated by Lieutenant James Rietmulder that we quote him at length:[9]

> Being at ease emotionally, having the proper attitude and perspective, keeps us healthy above the eyes and is one way of keeping us healthy below the eyes, right down to our feet. The everyday upsets that we've been recalling show that one's mind does things to his body and that it can get sick itself if he lets it.
>
> It's not so mysterious when we realize that we are one piece of machinery; there aren't two separate things, body and mind. Both mind and body are always involved in our feelings about things, our emotions. These emotions will get control of us if we let them and start doing things to our stomach or legs or back or mind.
>
> Psychologists and psychiatrists can show us—and we've been seeing it already in our own lives if we look for it—how our emotions and drives, some expressed and some pushed back until even we aren't aware of them, affect our bodies and the total persons we are. It is important to keep those emotions in good order. . . .
>
> What is mental health? It's common sense and an easy attitude and even emotional keel in meeting a new situation. . . . It's having a real picture of just what our abilities are and taking these, for better or worse, without trying to reach too high above them. It's getting along with the people we are thrown together with, having no continuous, long-lasting anger, jealousy, impatience, or intolerance in our relations with them. It's facing our emotional attitudes —our hates, our fears, our desires—and helping them to find realistic outlets, rather than driving them under cover, denying their existence.
>
> Being mentally healthy is not something that we can get and then never lose, because it's the changing sum of how well we fit in wherever we are, with the least amount of jitters, changing ourselves to fit in, accepting and understanding ourselves, having the right attitude toward the job we must do. To stay mentally healthy, we have to stay emotionally at ease. When we fail to do this for long periods, we may be made nervously and physically ill.

Just how recreation can serve in establishing this psycho-organic-social balance is the problem of this book.

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[9] Rietmulder, James, *At Ease* (New York, Association Press, 1944), pp. 8-10.

CHAPTER II

Unconscious Motivations

BECAUSE DEMOCRACY IS BASED upon the concept of the sanctity of human life, of personal autonomy and individual uniqueness, it can be expected that mental hygiene as a principle of life would find fertile soil in democratic countries. It is no accident that the United States has been the scene of an accelerated spread of mental-hygiene principles and practices. Only in a nation where the individual person is important can such a movement flourish. Mental hygiene in America has permeated all areas in which the individual lives: the home, the school, recreation, industry, prisons, correctional institutions, religion, and medicine. The individual, however, cannot achieve mental health by the mere process of willing. It is a result of physical and psychological balance, in which recreation can play an important part. Recreational avenues that help discharge energies and give expression to hidden emotions in ways that do not arouse guilt feelings or incur rejection from others are indispensable for total health. The aims of recreation extend beyond physical fitness and the occupying of leisure time pleasantly to include mental health as well. Before we discuss the relation between mental hygiene and recreation more fully, it may be helpful to state as briefly as possible its tenets and aims.

Main Tenets of Mental Health

As implied in its name, mental hygiene is the science of maintaining a healthy emotional constitution. It is based upon the premise that man's psychological drives and needs are immutable. They cannot be destroyed or repressed, but their expressions can be transformed and changed through definite and knowable processes. These processes have to accord with the basic and changing needs of the individual.

The science of mental hygiene holds that there are general

characteristics common to all men, but that the intensity of needs varies with individuals. There are also some strivings and needs peculiar to each individual in accordance with hereditary dispositions and acquired attitudes. To maintain mental health, man's impulses and drives must have adequate expression or redirection. His strivings for love, security, power, and sex must have at least minimal satisfactions. In the absence of such basic emotional gratifications, distortions occur that render the individual unable to adapt to his social and physical environment. Tensions are set up within his personality that interfere with balanced and objective understanding of the motives and characters of others. Conflict, hostility, general unhappiness, and all-pervasive feelings of inadequacy and inferiority result.

Among the major sources of personality dislocations is the customary practice of repressing and inhibiting children's spontaneous impulses to play and be active. To some extent, repressions inevitably arise from conditions of life, but much of the child's and the adult's free acting out of their impulses and cravings is unnecessarily prohibited.

The general trend of the home, education, religion, and the law is to oppose the natural expression of the individual's instinctual drives. The aim is to bring him within the desired pattern of the group and to shape him in accordance with society's precepts. In this conflict, mental hygiene comes to the defense of the individual. Although it recognizes that social living and individual fulfilment involve control and even repression of biological and atavistic drives and impulses, severe and peremptory repressions cause emotional, intellectual, and even physical illness. Education for a healthy and socially satisfying life involves minimal stress to the individual.

We are becoming concerned with two types of personality disturbances. One is the increasing number of persons who are so seriously ill that they have to be segregated from the community and placed in mental hospitals, asylums, reform schools, jails, and prisons. Statistics show that there are more patients in mental hospitals at any given time than there are persons afflicted with all other diseases combined. Of even greater concern is the large number of emotionally disturbed individuals who are not segregated and who affect the atmosphere in which

we all live. No one escapes direct contact with them in his daily life, and no one is free from their influence. They affect us as passersby on the street, neighbors, associates on the job, clerks in stores, waiters in restaurants, teachers, policemen, judges, Government officials, and as employers and employees.

Plotters, spies, saboteurs, and adherents of anti-social groups are drawn from the ranks of people whose frustrations in life and love have turned their minds to destruction and sadism. Such activities are reactions to frustrations and feelings of personal failure. Persons are frequently out to "get even" with the world and "work off" pent-up hatreds and resentments. Some are malcontents; others are definite sadists; still others are activated by a hope of becoming members of a repressive oligarchy, with unlimited power to humiliate, persecute, and torture.

The stress and strain of a competitive society contribute greatly to the formation of these attitudes. Deprivations resulting from poverty and economic insecurity among low-income groups produce a large number of social and personal maladjustments among people who are in no way inherently inferior. Insecurity, anxiety, feelings of failure, excessive pressure of work, physical congestion in the home and neighborhood, contribute to moral and ethical breakdown. The task of democracy is to create conditions in which body, mind, and spirit can grow and remain healthy.

The responsibility for creating a healthy society does not lie with the educator or recreationist. This is the job of legislators, industry, organized labor, and the mass of citizens. Educator and recreationist, as specialists, can contribute toward the adjustment of the individual to his environment, and advise and guide as to needs of man upon which a rational pattern of life can be built. Their greatest service, however, will lie for some time to come in preventing pathology and in maintaining physical and mental health in persons, children and adults, who come under their influence. The mental hygienist makes much of the need for satisfactory relations in the home, where the foundations for health are laid. Love and security are the bases for all subsequent growth and personality integration, and the home is where these are first experienced. Inner balance and

external adaptations are successful when one feels accepted and has status with the people with whom one is most involved. Among the latter are the persons of one's family, professional or occupational associations, and leisure-time groups. To maintain inner balance between physical and mental powers, and to keep one's mind and body active, it is necessary that we have one or more challenging interests. These can be derived from one's trade or occupation, but abiding and energizing interests, in addition to one's daily work, are of even greater value and are found to be effective in maintaining poise and health.

Education and recreation can help establish a balance between the physical and mental energies of man in accordance with individual requirements. Such a balance is the foundation for total health. Overstraining one of the facets of personality at the expense of others sets up imbalance and destructive tensions. Another condition for mental and physical health, to be described presently, is adequate drainage of repressed emotions and physical energies as they accumulate in the course of daily living. To meet the requirements of mental hygiene, recreation must discharge some of the unconscious drives, release inner pressures, and provide natural compensations.

RECREATION AS COMPENSATION

If a child feels physically inferior because of size, handicap, or pampering, he must find status through the exercise of some special ability. This may be literary, artistic, or oratorical talent, a capacity for friendship, or a good social disposition.

Some people develop fantasies of power because of organic inferiority or emotional weakness. The educator's function is to correct the conditions that make it necessary for one to build castles in the air and strengthen him so that he can get satisfactions of success and achievement. The following two instances may illustrate what is meant here:

A boy of six once spent more than two hours lying prone on the floor trying to connect a bell to a cell "to make it ring." He had seen boys several years older than himself do it, and so he quietly proceeded to do it also. His concentration was so great that he did not notice anything that went on around him. He refused his midmorning fruit, declaring: "I'm too busy." After almost in-

numerable trials, the bell rang. The boy drew himself up full height, and with a faint smile on his face said: "I knew I could do it."

The significance of this episode lies in its meaning to this boy. He was the only foreign child in a group of natives and spoke the language haltingly. As a result of the strained relations between his parents, and being an only child, he was an anxious and at times hyperactive member of the group. The boy was also easily cowed and readily displayed fear reactions. All these elements led the group to make him a scapegoat. They persecuted him on every occasion, so that he would often say to the teacher: "Do you like children? I hate children." Making the bell ring, something that none of the children of his age could do, built up in him a sense of self-worth and evoked positive recognition from the others. Thus a free science laboratory can be employed as therapy and as a means for social adjustment.

Once a seven-year-old boy wanted to make an "experiment like in my dream." He described in detail what he saw in the dream. This turned out to be a hollow conical clay structure, with flames emanating from its apex. The product looked and behaved like a volcano. We used potassium permanganate and liquid glycerine to produce the flames. When the flames shot up, the boy exclaimed: "My dream came true!"[1]

WHY DO WE LIKE WHAT WE LIKE?

The devoted chairman of the Athletic Council in a settlement house was not a person who represented very convincingly the spirit of sports. On the contrary, he was a meek, pale-looking, nonathletic, quiet, and withdrawn person who never participated in any form of play or athletics. Nonetheless, he spent all of his leisure time in supervising, promoting, and fostering these activities. He raised money for equipment, organized contests, arranged programs, and in every way sustained and managed this department of the settlement. The chairman went about his business earnestly, but in a quiet, unostentatious manner, keeping to himself. Though polite and ingratiating when addressed, he seldom spoke to anyone on his own initiative.

Dr. Karl Menninger describes a snowy-haired player, an author and historian, who was "celebrated for his inadvertent

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[1] Slavson, S. R., "Values of Laboratory Experiences," *Childhood Education* (April, 1939), Vol. XV, No. 8, pp. 343-344.

interruptions of the (chess) game." [2] In ordinary life, he is described as the

> . . . meekest, kindest, gentlest man imaginable; over the chessboard he becomes fiercely rampant and belligerent. He moves with lightning speed, crashing his moved pieces to the board with a clatter that occasionally jars all the other pieces out of their places.

The violent sweep of the player's gestures often caused him to upset the cooling drink at his side, delaying the game. "In anyone else," comments Dr. Menninger, "this would be very bad form, but in this beloved player it is expected and understood."

Evidently, the unconscious needs of both these men were met through vicarious channels. In one, the hunger for acceptance was satisfied by the on-the-side responsibility for an athletic program in which he could not participate as a player. Being a part of such a program and making it attainable to others gave him indirectly the satisfactions that he might have enjoyed had he been able to be active in it. Chess removed temporarily the blocking to hostility and agression built up in the other, so that he was able to release suppressed drives during the game.

Thus the basic needs of the personality are met by devious and indirect ways, which the enlightened recreationist aware of mental-health implications, recognizes and uses. Cruelty may be satisfied by winning in contract bridge and chess, as well as by witnessing or taking part in a prizefight. Sex drives can and do find many outlets, one of which is dancing. It is the form that makes the difference.

Compare the public dance hall and the night club. Both satisfy gregarious needs and release physical and sexual inhibitions to which one is subjected in an organized society. The jazz band or philharmonic orchestra appeal to the sense of rhythm and melody, and preference for one or the other is conditioned by the environment of childhood and youth. It is understandable how a child of poverty, exposed to brutality at home and vulgarisms in the neighborhood, grows up to

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[2] Menninger, Karl, *Bulletin of Menninger Clinic* (May, 1942), Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 81.

prefer the raucous staccato jazz as against the contemplative melodiousness of a sonata.

The psychology of preference has been little explored. No doubt organic predispositions play an important role in some individuals. But dispositions become actualized only in the presence of whatever opportunities may be provided by circumstances, including the cultural climate, both in the larger world (macroculture) and in the home and neighborhood (microculture).[2] Most people take on easily, often unconsciously, the patterns of the surrounding group: witness the widespread "national" games, for example. However, within the range of these influences, choice is made to accord with conscious and, even more frequently, unconscious, strivings, needs, and tensions. These may be of organic or psychological origin or both.

Recreational choices vary from time to time in the same individual. They are affected by constitutional changes, as in children and young people, or by intellectual and emotional preoccupation or stress in adults.

> One hobby may attain supremacy at one time of life and quite another activity at another period, according to the energy available, the frustrations present, the need for active expression or the relief from over-activity, the need for solitude or the desire for companionship and social stir.[3]

Recreation need not be static and take a single-track direction. It may vary and appear in cycles and phases, in response to the temporary and permanent circumstances of the individual.

However, the general trend and content of recreation is more or less the same for each individual. As such, it is a mirror of character and a part of it. Early conditioning by the home, the street, free associations, the church, the school—the innumerable influences to which children, youth, and adults are exposed in the course of everyday life—determines choice to a very large extent. If early experiences, especially in the home, refine

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[2] Slavson, S. R., *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York, Association Press, 1939), pp. 37-43.

[3] Menninger, Karl, and Menninger, Jeanetta Lyle, *Bulletin of Menninger Clinic* (May, 1942), Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 100.

(sublimate) the primary instinctual drives, one will later select from his environment the socially desirable and aesthetic ways of living and playing. Although the more effective relations of the home are extremely important, recreation can to some degree redirect the expression of emotional drives so as to counteract some of the undesirable trends in young children. Substitute gratifications and corrective experiences in an atmosphere of friendliness with adults other than parents may sometimes greatly change behavior. Recreation and other educative forces may bring about more acceptable living by "enticing" the individual to activities that, in the long run, are more meaningful and worth while.

EFFECTS OF REPRESSING UNCONSCIOUS DRIVES

Education in the home and elsewhere relies too much on repressive measures, and not enough on helping the individual to find adequate expressions for his biological and other primitive drives or to find substitutions and sublimations for them. Education that complies with the tenets of mental health aims to help the child and youth redirect the expression of his impulses and drives, and only partly to repress them. We consider a person well brought up when he has repressed his impulses. The fact is, they cannot be entirely repressed. Our knowledge of mental health, though still in its infancy, has demonstrated that attempts at full repression without providing some satisfactory outlets result in more or less serious mental and physical ill-health. To repress a person's behavior requires little skill; more skilful is the one who helps release the individual's impulses in terms of their highest social values. These values are love, consideration, and respect for others. The compensations are acceptance by the group, belonging to the culture of one's surrounding world, recognition, praise, and other satisfactions that help the individual develop relations with the world (object relations). In the formation of character, too strict suppression begets disease, while sublimation is the road to health.

NEED FOR MOVEMENT AS MOTIVE

Biologists and physiologists have observed the fact that man

is structurally organized for movement. Life and death of the lower animal and of primitive man depend on movement. The pursuit after a victim satisfies hunger. Sex satisfaction is also obtained by pursuing a mate. Escape from death or injury is assured through running and climbing. Thus, to survive meant rapid movement through space. Over millions of years, the act became disassociated from its purpose in the nervous system. Movement became a source of pleasure without the immediate need for achieving its archaic ends; and we now move through space without pursuing or escaping, for movement itself is pleasurable.

City life and congested neighborhoods, sedentary occupations in offices and factories, repress the impulse for movement and pursuit; and the unconscious response to these repressed needs are a set of recreational activities that involve movement. Loop-the-loop, see-saws, running, motorboating, flying, rowing, automobile driving, horseback riding, walking, and numerous other forms of locomotion are ways of satisfying this need.

NEED FOR CHANGE AS MOTIVE

Associated with movement through space is the need for change, for new stimuli and varying experiences. Despite its variagated nature, modern life is full of monotony. The job, the close living quarters in the city and its streets, offer few new impressions and changes in environment and setting. We shall have an opportunity to discuss elsewhere the effect of monotony and the need for stimulating all areas of our neuromuscular structure. Here we shall indicate that the need for excitation has given rise to a set of recreational activities that satisfy it. Among these are travel, excursions, picnics, meeting new people, establishing new associations, and numerous other devices for changing circumstances.

THE SEX INSTINCT AS MOTIVE

Much of our recreation gives release in disguised form to strongly repressed sex urges. Sex taboos cause the most disturbing and guilt-inducing tensions in man. Recreation is one of the means whereby escape from these tensions can be achieved. Mixed recreational activities of various kinds—danc-

ing, swimming in constantly more abbreviated bathing suits, kissing games—are the compromises between impulse and restraint. The reading of novels may serve this purpose as well, in addition to providing the values of vicarious travel and a variety of emotions and impressions. The theater, especially where sex is emphasized—as in vaudeville, musical comedy, and burlesque—is designed to appeal to the sex impulse. Of course, such exhibitions often stimulate the sex impulse and do little to sublimate it.

Many recreational interests that appear to have motivations other than the sexual urge are undertaken, by some individuals at least, for the sex interest they provide, either because of other participants or because of the nature of the activity itself. Among these may be included parties, lectures, social and political movements, art, card playing, and similar group diversions. The sublimations provided by art expression may be of especial value.

THE DEATH WISH AS MOTIVE

A less commonly recognized motive is the death wish. Dr. Paul Schilder states it succintly when he says: "Every individual carries with him a private philosophy of death." [4] Freud has also elaborated upon the presence of the death wish in man. Dr. Karl Menninger, in his book entitled *Man Against Himself,* marshaled convincing proof that behind "accidents" there is a wish to destroy oneself. The trend to self-destruction is sometimes strong enough to cause suicides. The death wish is the opposite of the stronger wish to live. But we must recognize the presence of both if we wish to grasp the meaning of human behavior. Just as the sun emanates both the lifegiving, growth-producing rays and the so-called "death rays," so do man's impulses consist of some that are primarily constructive and others that are destructive.

Many of the recreations have the destruction of the participant himself as an unconscious aim, which serves to express

[4] Schilder, Paul, "The Analysis of Ideologies as a Psychotheraperitic Method, Especially in Group Treatment," *American Journal of Psychiatry* (November, 1936), Vol. XCII, No. 3, pp. 602-615. Freud has also shown that the death wish is very strong in man and is the indirect motive for much of our behavior.

the conflict between the life urge and the death wish. The roller coaster, with its tortuous tracks and almost vertical drops, is attractive to us because of the swift movement through space. But the other less apparent attraction in such amusements is the obvious danger to life and limb. Diving, mountain climbing, high-speed driving, vaulting, flying in airplanes, horror chambers are among those that veil a real, though latent, death motive.

SADISTIC DRIVES AS MOTIVE

The deep-seated instinct toward self-destruction, which is so obscure a phenomenon as not to be easily accepted by the uninitiated, is mated with the equally deep-seated and somewhat more readily recognized drive toward the destruction of others, including objects as well as living things. The instinct that is expressed in the cruel fun in which many children engage, such as torturing animals and other children, may in maturity become a sadistic perversion with horrible expressions, or it may be "sublimed" into more or less harmless channels. The psychiatrist will often detect its presence in such recreations as hunting, fishing, collecting butterflies, taxidermy, playing bridge, and even chess, which is a series of "killings" and elimination of various "men." It is always well to remember that these self- and other-destructive instincts are part of human nature. The problem is not to repress them, for that is impossible, but to sublimate them into harmless or even useful channels.

AGGRESSION AS MOTIVE

It is reported that in some Scandinavian countries there were, before the war, shops where one could, for a specified sum, break as many dishes as one wished. Such frank recognition of the existence of repressed hostility and aggression provides a safety valve and is an intelligent way of dealing with emotions. Instead of suppressing the aggressive drives and accumulated hostile feelings, an acceptable drainage is provided.

In the United States as well, under the guise of exercising skill at fairs and bazaars, booths are provided where balls are thrown at old dishes arranged on shelves at the opposite end.

The more plates and saucers the player breaks, the more skilled is he. "Hit the nigger on the head" is another application of the same principle, but more direct and cruel in its intent. In the state of New York, a law had to be passed to prohibit this game, since hard balls were often used. Shooting galleries in which the targets are replica of living creatures may sometimes be outlets for the same hidden motives.

Although on the surface these and similar activities are indulged in a spirit of fun, the student of human behavior recognizes in the enjoyment of the performers and the onlookers destructiveness, hostility, and aggression. In more polite society, target practice, hunting, and shooting may serve the same purpose.

Man, like all animals, is fundamentally aggressive.[5] Aggressiveness is a basic law, a necessity of life without which animals could not survive. In some animals, aggression is unrestrained. In man, it is regulated and controlled; otherwise social life would not be possible. Beginning with the nursery and through later stages of development, the child's aggressions are curbed or redirected. He is guided at first to substitute games for biting, scratching, and hitting or throwing. Later, serious activity takes the place of these games. Thus, various throwing and catching games are introduced. As the child grows older, these sublimated aggressions take on the form of exploration—such as taking his toys apart—and may become scientific curiosity, social leadership, invention, and other forms of exploratory-aggressive activity.

But transition from one form of activity to another involves considerable inhibition and tension. These tensions may later be relieved through violently hostile acts, such as mob action, lynchings, riots, pogroms, and wars. For most people, however, recreation is an adequate outlet for aggressive feelings. Even though there is no direct participation in a prizefight, the vicarious enjoyment this sport offers serves as an outlet for

[5] Some psychologists believe that aggression is inherent in man's personality; others think that aggression is a result of frustration. It is also necessary for our discussion to differentiate between aggression and hostility. Aggression may be considered as a normal pattern of life. Only when it is intense and threatens other people is attention called to it as undesirable. Hostility, on the other hand, is an emotional state that gives rise to hatred, a desire to hurt and destroy.

hostility and even for homicidal inclinations. Numerous combative and competitive games and sports serve the same purpose. Among these are baseball, football, wrestling, hockey, and the less directly aggressive games such as tennis, badminton, croquet, and golf. In each of these, there is fundamentally an aggressive intent: to get the best of the other fellow. These forms of recreation, despite their motive, are socially acceptable; therefore they do not make one feel guilty, as a direct hostile act would.

CONSTRUCTIVE TRENDS AND INHERENT MOTIVES

As a balance to this, which some may consider a gruesome picture of man at play, there are many recreations that express basically constructive and life-extending urges. These are what are euphemistically described as "creative effort." In fact, among a very large number of mature persons such effort predominates, for it provides adequate sublimations for negative trends and encourages positive or constructive interests. We have already made reference to interests such as gardening. Others in this category are bird lore, fowl raising, pigeon hustling, and the numerous other hobbies that nurture and preserve life. Less tangible, perhaps, but similarly motivated hobbies are building, construction, sculpture, writing, and numerous other forms of artistic expression.

The life instinct asserts itself in recreation as it does in other forms of man's effort, and overlooking it (as some are prone to do) gives only one side of the picture. There is great pleasure in constructing a house or a piece of furniture, in painting a picture, or in writing a book or poem. Creative and procreative trends need satisfactions as much as hostile and destructive drives. In most persons, both trends are present in varying degrees. One usually outweighs the other, and recreation reflects basic personality structure. At the risk of being redundant, we should say that the quality of recreation is determined by the quality of early experiences, influences, and identifications.

Perhaps some of the impulses that find expression in creative and consructive work are derivative from strivings to power, ego-drives, or masochistic trends. The observable outcomes, however, are inherently positive and constructive. Many of these are

undoubtedly basically constructive and are derived from feelings that are associated with love, protection, and procreation. They are the maternal (or paternal) feelings diffused and redirected to an area beyond one's immediate family. Charity, community improvement, social progress, child-protective efforts are among these. They take up much of the leisure time of thousands of women and men.

REGRESSION AS MOTIVE

Among the chief pleasures derived from recreation is the fact that the individual can regress to a stage of early development without feelings of guilt, because it is acceptable to society. The trend to regress is quite widespread. Maturity is only skin-deep and is held together by thin threads. In a large number of people, maturity is a veneer—even a pose—and consists of a system of social amenities. Fundamentally, these persons are dependent and crave for the free unrestraint of childhood, but cannot gratify themselves without losing face with friends, relatives, and neighbors. One must maintain an appropriate facade and repress one's true yearnings.

Here, as well, recreation comes to our rescue. In our leisure, we can follow these hidden cravings with impunity. Working with clay, for example, is a way of satisfying our early preoccupation with mud, which in itself is considered a primitive fixation. Even adults may run about in play unrestrainedly "like children," as the saying goes. Through humor, they deal with impulses and phantasies otherwise inadmissible in polite society. At lodge conventions, men who are leaders in their respective communities dress up like clowns and behave childishly, wrecking furniture and tying up traffic by sitting on car tracks. To indulge in pranks such as these, one has to dispossess his psychological censors, throw restraint and decorum to the winds, and become a child again. Only the participants in such hilarity can testify to its exhilarating effect. They go home with a new lease on life, full of pep and energy.

Playing the role of an adult is no easy task, especially for men. Much repression and self-control goes into the effort. To "let go" periodically establishes balance and releases one's pent-up impulses. The process is similar to the opening of the sluices

of a dam. The greater the pressure of the water, the stronger will be the flow. When the waters are spilled, equilibrium is established. So it is also with human emotions. Ideally, the expression of emotions should be free, so that none are accumulated to produce any imbalance and tension. Actually, man and his society are at odds in this respect, and repression is inevitable. Regression—"letting off steam," "letting go," and "being a child again"—therefore have to be accepted as part of a program of mental health. Recreation is the area in which society will accept such behavior from an adult, since it forbids him to be immature in his serious work, his associations and relationships. A major value of recreation lies in the fact that it permits the discharge of socially prohibited feelings in socially acceptable ways.

Hobbies also serve regressive needs. Playing with model trains and boats, and collecting airplanes may be expressions of mechanical interests. They may also serve as regressive indulgence that brings back early feelings and the setting in which one played with them as a child. The collecting of stones, buttons, stamps, and curios has its origin in very early infancy, when it may have been repressed, only to come to the fore again in adulthood. The acting out of such infantile trends has a balancing and regulative effect.

SUBORDINATE SEX CHARACTER AS MOTIVE

Hobbies, diversions, and games give expression to and satisfy the subordinate sex character of men and women. Human personality is not monosexual. One is not 100 per cent male or female. Rather, it is the predominance of one over the other that determines maleness and femaleness. The recessive sexual characters, however, while submerged, create pressures and needs that have to find expression. This dictotomy is more apparent in the psychological realm than it is in the physical, and evidences of it seem more pronounced in recent years than in the past. To satisfy these needs, girls and women are entering in increasing numbers occupations and professions that have been considered men's area. Similarly, men have been invading the precincts of women's work. While women are going into shops and factories, becoming chauffeurs and mechanics, men

are cooks and chefs, tailors, designers, milliners, and beauticians. Opportunities to act out the submerged claims to masculinity and feminity through trades and professions, however, are limited to comparatively few. A larger number can do so more comfortably and pleasurably in recreation and games.

Ball playing is widespread among girls; and such diversions as golf, hiking, mountain climbing, and overnight picnics also are becoming a part of women's recreation. Taking on of what was considered as masculine activities by women is in conformity with the trend of women's incursions into the man's world and her rebellion against the subordinate position she was forced to occupy in the past. The trend toward masculinity and the aggressive quality in women is on the increase, and, as the present generations have amply demonstrated, it will have to be reckoned with in the future. We know that complete repression of secondary psychological characteristics induces personality disturbances and physical illness. An outlet through games and hobbies, especially in competition with men, is a salutary contribution to mental health.[6]

Persons who are concerned with any aspect of the educational process need to be aware of the attitudes of young people toward themselves as boys or girls. In the course of growth, considerable confusion in this area is liable to appear. A very large number of young people feel inadequate, are curious and frightened, or are too closely identified with members of their families. A girl whose development in this respect has been in some way interfered with or a boy who is shy and perceives himself undesirable may develop reactions that militate against adaptations to contemporaries and fail in other functions in the course of daily living.

There is considerable anxiety and guilt among young people that should be relieved. The fantasy of even the best adjusted is strongly preoccupied with sexual matters that they consider bad or immoral. Much fear is aroused by these fantasies, by misinformation accumulated from various sources, and through the taboos and secrecy with which such facts are treated

[6] The incursion of women upon man's domain has deeper psychosexual meanings which psychoanalysis has explored. However, for our present purpose the above formulations adequately explain the new trend.

by adults. Difficulties in this area among many boys can often be traced directly to domination by a mother or sisters, to the absence of or having a weak father, or to some form of sexual overstimulation. Confusion in girls often arises from too strong attachment to parents or siblings, jealousy of a brother, and competition with male members of the family.

Exaggerated behavior, grandeur fantasies, delinquency, and even crime have been traced to such and similar causes. A boy who has been overeffeminized, whose aggressions have been thwarted, grows up feeling inadequate and impotent. To counteract this feeling, he may act the "big shot" or resort to daydreaming. Crimes are sometimes committed as a reaction to such feelings of weakness. Girls who consider themselves inadequate or unattractive as sexual objects, too, tend to become either aggressive, ingratiating, or withdrawn. Sex delinquencies are frequently traced to girls who want to assure themselves of being acceptable to men.

Recreation and leisure-time education can prevent development of confusions and help where they already exist. Mixed recreation is helpful. Under the conscious guidance of adult leaders, some young people can overcome uncertainties and fears. Unless these emotions are rooted in pathological states, the experience of being, working, and playing together by boys and girls is very valuable. It gives security and assurance to those who are doubtful about themselves, and serves as transitional and exploratory stages to the less uncertain ones.

Recreation and Maturity

The opportunities to sublimate the many primary drives and impulses through recreation have already been discussed at different points in the preceding pages. The mechanism of sublimation (transforming the social or antisocial expressions of biological drives into socially desirable forms) is the most important of all cultural processes in human personality. Play activities and recreation are, of course, effective means of sublimation; and when an individual is permitted to choose his occupations and associations freely, he naturally tends to express unconscious as well as conscious interests. William James, in his famous essay on "Moral Substitutes for War," has suggested

that sports and games of rivalry can be used to discharge drives of man that now find their fulfilment in war. Here James envisaged the relation of recreation to mental health.

One of the tenets of mental hygiene is to encourage growing independence as the child or youth becomes aware of his awakening powers. Power to assume responsibilities, courage and fearlessness to face problems and to meet new situations, are not heaven-sent. They are acquired in the process of living and functioning, and through emotional weaning of the individual from his inevitable dependence upon parents, nurses, and teachers. Dependence is essential to the safety and security of the infant and child. The infant relies upon adults for his food and safety; but the intelligent parent aims to wean him gradually and imperceptibly, and to make him self-dependent. The child makes a bid for independence by such seemingly small things as tying his shoes, helping mother wash the dishes or cook, planning how to build blocks or arrange furniture in the nursery. When the small child is encouraged to make decisions and do things on his own, he not only grows in strength but also feels loved and accepted. Any organ, faculty, ability, or talent grows and develops only through use and exercise; and the one way in which self-reliance can evolve is to be placed in situations where one has to make decisions and carry them out on his own.

In a good home, restrictions are few and discipline comes from mutual understanding and wise love. Rigid restrictions leave the child dependent; for by accepting authority, he renounces autonomy and his growth is retarded. The by-products of this process are frustration and resultant resentfulness, rebelliousness, and hostility. Traditional schools, as well, foster dependence and infantilization. They set up the authority of the teacher and principal, and of the printed word. Nor is recreation free of similar practices. Here, too, there is a great deal of regimentation and routine, and dependence is fostered in many ways. Youngsters take no part in setting up facilities and feel in no way responsible for maintenance and order. Participants are seldom asked to take on duties such as planning, fund raising, or setting up programs. Recreation is also guilty of infantilization and arrest of development through overemphasis on pub-

licity, prizes, rewards, and medals. Recreational practices that help maturity and self-reliance are described in Chapter VI.

The following report of a celebration in a recreational agency, as it appeared in a newspaper, illustrates how infantilization is fostered:

> Contrary to the fears of spectators, no gastronomic maelstroms resulted from a milk-drinking contest. At the sound of a whistle, four competitors, assisted by four "nurses," upon whose laps they sat, raised filled bottles to their lips and raced to consume the contents nipplewise. M. J., 14 years old, won. P. V., 15, donned a girl's outfit in fifty-two seconds.[7]

These devices make the job of the recreationist easier, but defeat his chief aim—namely, emotional maturity; and since maturity of the citizens in a democracy is the foundation of its strength, such recreation indirectly works against the democratic ideal.

> Democracy is a relation in which only developed adults can participate fully. A democracy in any country, therefore, is possible only to the degree that the maturity of its citizens permits. Childish dependence, ambitions and self-centeredness (which are apt to linger into adulthood) make group integration, well-nigh impossible.[8]

Without any effort on our part to infantilize them, children have a strong desire to continue in their childish dependence. They resist the process of growing up. The "call of the cradle" is strong, and education should not encourage it. This desire to remain dependent is illustrated by the seven-year-old son of an official of the Y.M.C.A. who once said to him: "Dad, I wish you didn't work at the 'Y' and went to business like the fathers of the other boys around here do." "Why, son?" asked the parent. He thought the boy was envious of the fine cars, chauffeurs, and other advantages that other families in the neighborhood had and he could not afford as a member of a profession. "Oh," responded the boy, "then you wouldn't make me decide things for myself all the time. The other fathers just tell their kids what to do."

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[7] *New York Times* (July 5, 1941).

[8] Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press, 1937), p. 6.

CONFLICT BETWEEN WANTS AND NEEDS

Educators and recreationists find themselves in a dilemma when a child or youth rejects the very occupations and interests that they consider important and necessary. Pupils or participants, according to adults, need to learn some subject matter or to take physical exercise; but contrast between *wants* and *needs* causes much distress both to child and adult. An impasse is struck, and the conflict between the two is often prolonged and bitter.

In order to prevent distress and resentment, it is necessary that we distinguish between organic and unconscious needs[9] and the wants of which people are aware. On occasion, the conscious wants and unconscious needs may coincide. The individual is then in a state of equilibrium or harmony. But just as often there is conflict between the two. A person feels a need to study music because he possesses a musical talent, but he may or may not translate this need into a conscious desire. Thus, he may follow his need and undertake the study, or he may silence his cravings by refusing to follow them up. In the first instance, need and desire coincide, and the individual is in a state of harmony in respect to his musical talent. When the desire and the need are antagonistic, inner conflict arises.

Failure to follow through on a wish or need—commonly referred to as "laziness"—may have organic and/or psychological causes. When a child has been forced to study music, for example—especially if this is done by a person with whom he has little rapport—he is likely to build up resistance to music as a spite to the offending adult. Refusal to follow through on a genuine talent may also be a spite reaction to success in the same field by a brother or sister with whom the individual is in rivalry. The very fact that a disliked sibling has attracted attention to himself by his proficiency causes the other to turn away from that particular skill or interest.

The younger of two children in a family was unable to learn to read at the age of eight. Tests showed that he was of superior intelligence and that the "reading disability" was the result of unconscious jealousy of an older sibling, who was also brilliant

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[9] See page 58 *et seq.*

and was the mother's favorite. Later in life, as well, the younger refused to continue with intellectual pursuits and quit his educational career very early. He had avoided anything in which the older participated or displayed an interest. Frequently, persons in such a relation become resistant to all achievement, become shiftless and irresponsible, and, as it appears, invite failure. Psychiatrists describe this state as "passive resistance."

To be sure, the resistance derived through unpleasant associations is unconscious, and one is not aware of it. It is an automatic reaction, rather than planned or wilful. On the other hand, we often find interests and enthusiasms in children and adults that proceed from identification with a favorite parent or sibling rather than being a genuine need. These can be described as "induced interests,"[10] which may lead to failure unless they are buttressed by real talent.

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[10] See page 58.

CHAPTER III

Fitting Recreation to the Individual

A CLUB LEADER REPORTS:

My group of sixteen boys, fifteen to sixteen years old has had a combined program this year. We meet weekly as usual to plan our activities. The boys' interest is in athletics, and they are setting up a team to compete with other clubs in the building for the annual award. We also had an exhibit of hobbies and had some very interesting discussions on problems of personal adjustment, and some social problems in politics and economics. Some of these discussions were led by outside speakers. Some the leader introduced; others were reported on by individual members, or by teams of two or three who collaborated on a topical report. Our meetings were very interesting this year, and we have made considerable progress with the new program.[1] Everyone feels that the new plan has not only increased interest in the club, but also has made the experience more profitable to all concerned.

The boys are particularly interested in the extension of our program into general recreation. We have had a number of trips, as we always did in the past. However, this year we have made an effort to interest the boys in the other activities that are offered in the building. We took a trip through the building and saw all the shops and special groups in action. The leader suggested to the boys that they could join any of these groups if they felt like it. As a result, practically every boy with the exception of two or three developed some recreational interest outside of the club.

Three of the boys joined a radio club. Two attend the art class, two the sculpture class, one the dramatic workshop. There are two delegates in the Council who are very active in the various enterprises of the members. Three or four work in the arts and crafts shops, and they produced some very nice pieces in copper and wood.

The different interests of the boys, both in the club matters and the general programs, seem to have done a great deal for them as individuals. They come to meetings with greater zest. They have much more to say to one another; they talk about experiences they have had during the other evenings.

Previously they talked only about teams, school, and their heroes in baseball or football. Now they seem to find many more things to talk about. I am particularly glad over the fact that

problems of the Center are being brought to their attention by the delegates to the Council. The group members seem to have expanded their loyalties from their own club to the Council and the Center as a whole. I consider this a healthy development, and our discussions of larger social and personal problems are a further extension of this interest.

In our hobby show were displayed the things that the boys made in the shops and their stamp and other collections, which they pursue at home as a part of their recreation. Outside friends as well as members of other clubs came to see it.

I was particularly interested in seeing how the choice of individual interests took place. It would almost seem that one could predict what each of the boys would choose. The more sensitive and "finer" looking boys chose the arts; the huskier ones continued with their athletics. Those who were more extraverted in their characters became leaders in the community of the building.

GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL APPEAL

The preceding abstract from a lengthy report illustrates several points of interest to recreationists.[1] In the first place, it brings home the fact that an enriched program (to which the reporter refers) can activate the group process; it stimulates constructive and educationally valuable interests, and socializes the participants. The statement also brings to the fore the important fact that recreation involves a group process as well as individual interests. When recreation is varied and flexible, it serves many people, makes a general and wide appeal, and meets one's special needs. The members of the group described in the above report had much in common; they organized a team, held a group exhibit, discussed common problems, arranged trips. At the same time, individual predilections also found expression. Each of the boys was able to find his own self-fulfilment. For recreation to be of greatest value, it must be flexible so as to meet individual needs.

Although individualization is characteristic of democracy, in which the individual is of supreme importance, men are predominantly alike in all important cravings and characteristics; the difference lies in their intensity and combination. The basic personality structure in any given society is fundamentally the same. All men are products of the same biological and social

[1] For a description of this program see Chapter VI.

laws and develop many similarities, which are the foundations of group morale and social unity. It is their sameness that keeps people together. Too wide contrasts beget antagonism and conflict, while mutual understanding creates harmony and unanimity. Without the existence of a sufficient commonness, no social living, social science, education, or government would be possible. As Lumley says:

> Life energies will flow into the channels already dug by the group. Whatever the games of the group, these will become, to a large extent, the games of the organism. At least, the games selected will be not something utterly original and strange but something from the group repertoire.[2]

In recreation, as in any other social effort, we must take into consideration people's similarities as well as their dissimilarities or personal idioms. Problems in the home and in school, in recreation and in industry, do not arise from people's likenesses. It is the points of difference among them that cause conflict and stress. The aim is to meet both the common and individual needs, and mass recreation should be so planned and so varied that each can find satisfactions. In a sound recreational program, individual choice takes precedence over blanket imposition of schemes and plans evolved by the director or instructor. This is in accord both with the democratic ideal and with mental and physical health requirements.

DEVELOPMENTAL FOUNDATIONS OF RECREATION

In preceding pages, we saw that recreation can prevent and even correct some emotional disturbances by meeting unsatisfied cravings. Some of these needs can be described as general—those that apply to nearly all people—or specific—those that are present in any one particular individual. Among those in the first group are needs for:

1. Physical growth.
2. Psychological development.
3. Emotional security.
4. Love, acceptance, and recognition.

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[2] Lumley, F. E., *Principles of Sociology* (New York, McGraw Hill Book Company, 1928), p. 366.

5. Transition from a state of dependence to independence and self-reliance.
6. The widening of loyalties from the small family group to larger groups.
7. Self-expression and self-assertion.
8. Organic and psychological balance.
9. New experiences and stimulation.
10. Creative activity.
11. Abiding interests.
12. Vocational success.
13. Social adaptation.[3]

Generally speaking, we can follow five basic principles for a recreational setting that would conform with the progressive phases of growth in children and young people.[4] The first is the *manipulative* or play phase, which extends roughly from infancy to about seven or eight years of age. The activities in this stage may be described as *manipulative-exploratory*. During this period, the child manipulates, builds, shifts things around, changes things. His interest is to keep busy and handle objects. He needs space and opportunity for free play, such as are provided by playgrounds, playrooms, game rooms, movable toys, dolls, blocks, balls, wagons, engines, and scooters. Playrooms should be equipped also with clay, plastecine, finger paints, crayons, water colors, large sheets of paper. Play with mud, sand, and clay, and with water and water-color paints, is essential. Digging

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[3] The aims of recreation are to a considerable extent the same as those of education. We have listed the latter as follows:

1. Personality development.
2. Character training.
3. Social education.
4. Discovery of avocational interests.
5. Vocational guidance.
6. Refining selective capacity.
7. Developing power and creative imagination.
8. Developing leadership.
9. Evolving a guiding philosophy of life.
10. Engendering intellectual hospitality.
11. Developing a sense of reality.

See Slavson, S. R., *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York, Association Press, 1939), p. 72. These topics are discussed more specifically in Chapters VII to X, pp. 139 to 189 in that volume.

[4] The material in this section was taken from the present writer's paper on "Foundations of a Club Program within the Democratic Framework," *Christian Citizenship,* Vol. XIX, No. 8, published by the National Board, Y.M.C.A.

and building are also important at this stage of development. Group games arise spontaneously in a free-activity atmosphere, and interpersonal, socializing reactions inevitably occur. Organized games, if not too frequent, help stimulate the social process, but they ought not be emphasized at this period. Trips and picnics are helpful.

Between eight and thirteen years, the play stage continues, but there also appears the *practical phase,* in which the child's activities can be described as *practical-inventive.* He becomes more purposeful and makes definite and useful objects, such as boats, bread boards, rolling pins, hatracks, shelves, boxes, pictures. At this stage, the child needs the adult's help to achieve his objectives. He needs a variety of skill shops in which his powers can be tested and new skills learned, as a result of which he can gain group acceptance. Arts and crafts, art, electricity, woodwork, science, nature lore, cooking, various types of needlework, and similar occupations now attract attention. In each there ought to be a wide variety of materials and tools freely accessible and their use with originality and imagination encouraged. Books are part of the equipment in each of the rooms where the child works in order that he may find his own answers to questions and solve problems by himself, rather than depend upon adults. Predilections for swimming, ball playing, and indoor sports, for digging caves and hut building, make their appearance some time during this period.

Considerable socialization occurs in a free and active recreation at this stage. Co-operative projects, discussions, exchange of information, reciprocal help, and similar evidences of growing social awareness are present. If this phase of development is wisely utilized, special-interest groups spring up spontaneously. Because the aim is to foster social attitudes and responsibility, the children who use the shops and other recreational rooms should take some part in planning them, and in maintaining order and cleanliness. The adult's chief role lies in fitting up suitable rooms, supplying materials, encouraging and helping with work when necessary, but not becoming the sole center of things, as is often the case.

The third stage, which sets in at about thirteen years of age,

is the *reflective phase,* and the activity here can be described as *reflective-epistemonic.* The growing boy and girl now question, inquire, and seek explanations. Books, charts, magazines, slides, discussions, and trips are appropriate means for meeting evolving curiosities as a supplement to their manual occupations and sports. At this stage, special-interest and hobby groups are of value. Groups in nature, science, cooking, radio, art, athletics, sports, great personalities, and collecting grow in importance. But these groups as well must emphasize activity rather than abstract learning; nor should they be allowed to degenerate into "talking groups." Social implications of the various interests may be called to the attention of the members, and their horizons thus enlarged. Leaders of these groups should indicate the meaning of facts and events to society and the group, but guard against forcing issues or becoming didactic. Trips related to special interests are very meaningful and educationally valuable, and should be undertaken at every opportunity. Responsibilities for the conduct and program of the group need to be shared by the members and the adults in charge. The adult in this type of program supplies leadership by imparting information, guiding interests of individuals and the group, initiating discussions, and planning for a widening program.

This stage also marks the *social phase* in the child's development. There appear now desires for group participation, interchange of opinions, planning for activities, and carrying them out with others. "Group work," as commonly understood, can be introduced. The social club and the multi-interest group, and a "socialized activity program," are suitable at this stage, since the child's interests are increasingly directed away from himself and flow toward other people. The social trend is at its critical stage at this point and must be put to the fullest possible use.

The leader here has to sense the needs and interests of individual members and of the group, and create for them opportunities by setting situations in which each can find expression in the group setting. Considerable imagination, resourcefulness, and a large variety of skills are now prerequisites for the leader. Though the intent is that programs be evolved by the members themselves, it is frequently necessary for the leader to take initiative until he stirs them up. Programs may be stimu-

lated by manual projects, a social investigation, trips to industrial plants and museums. They may also be suggested by a story or participation in sports. The adult has to be skillful in diagnosing interests and needs of a group, and to expose them to stimuli that would activate them. Once the group is activated, the leader needs to have the facility to allow the group to proceed on its own, and to possess resources to guide it toward an evolving purpose.

The social (fourth) phase has to be divided into two separate and fairly distinct substages. In the first of these, boys and girls have a need to be in groups of their own sex; they feel uncomfortable with members of the opposite sex. This stage usually lasts till approximately the fifteenth year, after which co-educational groups and activities become both acceptable and desirable. In the second stage of the social phase, activities assume even more of a "recreational" complexion. Parties, dancing, picnics, outings, theatricals, and other activities that appeal to both boys and girls become predominant.

The fifth phase in the constantly evolving preferences is what may be termed the *communal phase* of the "young adult." Just as play and manual work were preparations for more mature and social development in the child, group activity in the restricted confines of the neighborhood clubs, church, and school leads the youth, under skillful guidance, into the wider community. Free-time interests and preoccupations should include more serious and more mature concerns at this phase, which will be described more fully in Chapter IV, where the relation of democracy and recreation is discussed.

The important fact needs to be kept in mind that there is no sharp demarcation in the appearance of the various developmental phases described here. They coincide and coalesce at various times and in specific areas. Growth of human personality does not follow logical sequences; nor is man so segmental that sharp distinction can be made in his development. His growth is an organic phenomenon, and as such there are innumerable variations. To apply hard and fast rules would lead to distortion and to a false path in education and recreation. Devices and principles, even if derived empirically, can be used as general guides, from which we must be at all times ready to

diverge in order that we may meet individual needs and social conditions, and thus help each evolve and flourish.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Individual needs manifest themselves in accordance with the particular character, background, and state of the person. Some guiding principles in this respect will be described in the following pages.

"It would almost seem one could predict what each of the boys would choose," says the leader whose report was extensively quoted in the opening statement of this chapter. One way of predicting is on the basis of personality characteristics, which are described under the inclusive terms of *introversion* and *extraversion.*

Persons who tend to withdraw and are quiet are described as introverts. They are sensitive, build a shell around themselves, and make less easy and less direct contact with people. This type of behavior is normal for a true introvert and must not be confounded with inversion or neurotic withdrawal; rather, it is a characteristic manner of social adaptation. The recreation of introverts is less active. They are less prone to enter into close friendships and active group enterprises. Their recreational needs are met by individual occupations such as reading, painting, music, modeling, shopwork, tennis, bowling, hunting, walking, and mountain climbing. The characteristic quality of an extravert, on the other hand, is that he is outgoing, gregarious, on the whole less sensitive than the introvert, and visibly more active.[5] People of this character choose recreational outlets in keeping with it. Sports, games, debates, dramatics, appeal more to them.

We classify the more withdrawn activities as *isolative;* the more active and group activities as *associative.* The introvert, by and large, chooses the isolative type of occupations. The extravert enters into the associative interests. It is essential that

[5] It is not possible here to discuss fully the nature of introversion and extraversion, the many categories in which they appear, and the fusion of the two in one person. We can say briefly that both are present in every normal individual. One is classified as an introvert or extravert because of the prevalence of one type of response over the other, but not because either is present to the exclusion of the other.

recreationists recognize the differences in the character of participants and in the interests they choose. A forced effort to change the type of occupations may cause real injury to the individual, especially to children. If it does nothing else, it certainly will make them withdraw from recreation.

In the report quoted on page 49, the leader made the statement that the more sensitive and "finer" looking boys chose the arts, while the huskier ones continued with their athletics. There are individuals who seem to be naturally interested in physical activities, while others are inclined to choose occupations and spend their free time in less active pursuits. The former are described as *physiocentrics,* the latter as *psychocentrics.* Recreation should not attempt to impose upon the latter active sports and gymnastics beyond the point in which they spontaneously participate; similarly, an effort to impose upon physiocentrics sedentary and quiet occupations would be just as inappropriate. Some people are more inclined toward aesthetic pursuits, while others have scientific interests. Recreation should meet the needs of each in accordance with his desires. The artist and musician, the author and orator, the gymnast and the swimmer, the wrestler and the acrobat—all must find their place in a good recreational setup. However, one must keep in mind Plato's adage:

> The mere athlete becomes too much of a savage, and the mere musician is melted and softened beyond what is good for him. . . . The two should be blended in right proportions.

Recreation and education should aim to establish balance. But balance for one individual might be imbalance for another.

CAUSES OF DIFFERENCE

Preference for a type of recreation frequently is determined by permanent (owing to temperament) or temporary (owing to growth) disposition. As already indicated, there may be other factors operating in this choice. Relations with parents and brothers and sisters may cause a child and youth to accept or reject interests and opportunities. Friends are also important in determining choice. Identifications play their role here, as they do in other human relations.

Another factor that determines choice is talent. Talent must be considered a special organization of the nervous system and the muscle structure, out of which not only facilities but also cravings arise. Talent, in this sense, is an organic quality. We can conceive that the centers of the nervous system involved in music perception are more highly developed in a musician than in the average person. However, talent is more than a quality of the organism; it also exerts a psychological pressure. This psychopotential gives rise to preference and drive, so that when talent is not adequately expressed it makes one feel restive, unhappy, and frustrated.

A dynamic view of talent and special dispositions is not adequately taken into account in education, recreation, and psychiatry. Frustrated talent can create emotional tensions, confusion, and destructive attitudes. The boys to which reference was made at the outset of this chapter chose different activities because of evident differences in inherent personality qualities, as well as diverse cultural influences and unconscious factors. We see here then another reason why there must be considerable variety in the opportunities offered by good recreation; for if we are to meet the needs of the individual, the drives of talents must be satisfied.

Types of Interests

Whether one chooses an activity because of constitutional or psychological factors, social goals, or cultural influences, the immediate reason for making a choice is interest. Interest can be defined as the mobilization of powers and the craving of the organism to utilize these powers for a specific end. Interest is a constellation of the life energy around a given point or focus. Because of this dynamic setting, interests are charged with emotions and are particularly important in personality development. A full discussion of this important aspect of our subject would take us too far afield. However, we must stop long enough to recognize that if interests (or purpose) were not emotionally charged, little or no action could be mobilized. The dynamics of interest emanate from the emotional drives that accompany it. This makes interference with or blocking of it a rather serious matter. Blocking of interest is a true frustration and may

set up neurotic, delinquent, and anti-social reactions. The difficulty is that sometimes interests do not make themselves clearly manifest, especially in young children. They rather remain hidden cravings, of which the child and adult, and those who are responsible for their education and recreation, are not aware. Just as there can be hidden hunger for food, there can also be hidden cravings for expression and activity. The only reliable means we have for learning about them is by exposing people to as many opportunities as is possible and to encourage them to make their own choice. Unless they have been seriously distorted in the past, they are likely to choose the things that they really need.

Natural (Organic), Induced, and Forced Interests. The natural or organic interests are those that spontaneously arise from the individual's growth, development, and readiness. A child begins to walk when his leg muscles become strong enough to carry his weight, and he uses other small and large muscles in a succession that accords with their maturation. He becomes interested in reading when he is organically able to translate vision into words and thought into language; and so on along the line of the simple but increasingly complex activities that result from growth and development—physical, emotional, intellectual, and social. Interests that emanate from a special talent are included in this category.

Induced interests are those that the child *willingly* takes on from his environment because he likes to be like other people, to be considered a part of the group or resemble someone he admires (identification). Table manners, deportment, joining clubs, going to church, wearing a uniform, collecting stamps, sports, and similar interests fall within this classification. Frequently, such interests are not the most suitable or best for one —they may be either overmature (too difficult) or undermature (too simple); but their value lies in the fact that the individual accepts and participates in them freely. While doing this, he also becomes socially oriented and gets the many satisfactions of being part of a group and identifying with his favored persons (ego ideals), which are important for socializing the child's personality.

In the category of forced interests fall those in which the

child is compelled to take part, either through fear or external (and sometimes inner) compulsion. Many chores at home, and certainly the greater part of schoolwork, are done because of fear of consequences. Thus interest here is not genuine; rather, it is an escape from unpleasantness.

The natural interests are most important during the early years, because the main business of a young child is growth and the activities that flow from growth. The cultural and ethical aspects of character are induced later and should come at later stages. An enlightened program, whether in formal or informal education, recognizes the importance of taking advantage and putting to work the natural interests of the child first; later come the induced interests (those that grow out of contacts with other people), and finally the requirements of family and society can become operative (forced interests). Forced interests are essential, but parents and educators must always be cautious not to make them too forced. In recreation, particularly, the natural and induced interests—not the forced—predominate.

Temporary and Permanent Interests. As we analyze the nature of interests further, it becomes clear that some are temporary, while others permanent. The individual goes through stages in his growth in which he manifests interests that are more or less short-lived. They may correspond to the stages in organic and psychological growth, and disappear as the child or youth moves toward greater maturity. There are, however, interests that are permanent for each individual and reflect his basic nature. Educators must distinguish between permanent and temporary interests. A child who is "scientifically minded" may, during some stages of his development, display an interest in arts or sports. To assure orderly growth, these interests have to be met adequately as they appear. At the same time, there must be an awareness that the child is really a potential scientist, and adequate opportunities provided for him in that field. While we meet the fleeting and temporary desires, we must not overlook the permanent predilections and tendencies. It is upon the latter that one of the major centers of life —a vocation—is ultimately founded.

Transitory Interests. Interests shift continually as the child's organic balance changes in growth, or when he is ex-

posed to different influences and people. We are often baffled by these rapid and "irrational" changes in the child and attribute them to weakness, restlessness, nervousness. Although in some instances shift of interest may be caused by emotional or physical difficulties, within limits shifting interest is normal. Shifts occur because the organism does not grow and develop as one piece. As the various areas of the organism grow or perceptions develop, they require functioning and expression, which gives rise to transitory interests. As a result of this, we find a child going from one activity to another in a way that often makes it difficult for an adult to comprehend; but if we keep in mind the fact that organic growth and perceptions frequently make their appearance with no definite sequence, we can better understand and tolerate what appears to be the "irrational behavior of children." It is only when the shift is too rapid and there is a recognizable pathological quality present that special attention must be given it.

A child may start on a painting, drop it after several strokes, and join a group to play "jacks." At the moment his purpose may not have been painting; rather, he wanted to experiment with paints, to test himself out with that medium. He may or may not have had a feeling of anxiety about this new experience; in all probability he did, and he dropped it because of the mounting fear of failure. As soon as his feelings of inadequacy increased, he stopped painting. Then again he may have taken up the painting materials as an experiment, as a brief period of orientation, or because he was idle and wanted something to do. As soon as he perceived the group at play, it took precedence over his indifferent occupation.

Adults, too, have transitory interests; especially is this the case with hobbies and recreation. In vital and democratic nations, vocational and avocational interests are more short-lived than in older and set cultures, where permanence and durability are the tradition and test of character. To a considerable extent, American culture and industry encourage shift and change. New inventions and developments and new industries constantly make their appearance, requiring different skills and adapting old ones. The capacity to do new things in new ways—adaptability—is characteristic of vigor in the individual and in

society. Such amorphous vitality keeps people and nations strong and creative.[6]

Phasial Interests. Between permanent and transitory, in point of endurance, are those that may be described as phasial interests. They correspond to the phase of physical or psychological development and tarry longer than the transitory. The most common manifestation of these is a child's indulgence in running and climbing when his leg and arm muscles are at their most rapid growth. Still another is accelerated curiosity and continuous questioning when intellectual comprehension begins to awaken. These are phases in the child's development that manifest themselves in corresponding focus of attention and preoccupation. The duration of interest follows the line of development. Accelerated muscular growth in the young child may cause him to desire to climb and run about, which may last for months or a year or two. Later, when his small muscles ripen, he displays as much interest in scribbling as he pretends to write or draw. In mental growth as well we find children displaying inordinate interests at certain periods, which disappear and may reappear again later. A child may become intensely interested in music, animals, games of skill, sports, fiction, or science. Some of these persist for a period; others may become permanently fixed.

Cyclical Interests. As already stated, some interests reappear after they are given up. When this occurs, the interests may be described as cyclical interests. Cyclical interests are also temporary, insofar as they do not persist through life but rather make their appearance at different periods. Thus a vanished interest in music in early childhood may return again in later years of childhood, in adolescence, and even in adulthood. The appearance and reappearance of interests is a rather common phenomenon in many individuals and has important educational and developmental significance.

Focal and Peripheral Interests. Two more categories of interests need to be considered here in relation to recreation. These are focal and peripheral interests. Every person, child or adult, has some major interests around which he builds his life.

[6] The reader's attention is called to the statement that change or shift in interest may result also from subjective and emotional pressures.

One's major preoccupation may be family, work, social reform; but almost everyone has a number of minor hobbies or interests as well, such as stamp collecting, music, literature, sports.

We suggest the names of focal interests for the major and peripheral for the secondary or minor interests. In a complex society, with the innumerable opportunities it offers, it is rather important to make this distinction, for each plays a part in balancing character. This importance is augmented by the fact that the general pattern of our culture is specialization, which is likely to produce narrowness and imbalance. A person is better adjusted to his environment and reaps more fullness of life when he operates through a number of interests than one who has only few resources. The relation between focal and peripheral interests, as we have sketched it, is equally true for adults, youth, and children, though this relation may not be as evident in the latter. Everyone who has the opportunity to observe the growth of a child and youth becomes aware of it, however. At different times, manual work, intellectual attainments, school, or earning a parent's love take precedence over other values. A few years later, having playmates and friends may rise to uppermost significance, at the expense of other preoccupations that not so long ago were endowed with special importance. An older adolescent becomes preoccupied with his need in order to be acceptable to the group and especially to individuals of the opposite sex, which for a time overshadows all other interests of the past, only to be supplanted by concerns about a job soon after.

This relational importance is equally true of subject matter in school and of hobbies and recreation. Pupils may for a time become so absorbed with the school's football team as to neglect not only their studies but also their health, parents, and friends. Others become so interested in a subject like biology, and in preparing and mounting collections and exhibits, as to push other things into the background. As would be expected, focal and peripheral interests are more stabilized in the average adult; they remain more or less in the same relation. Thus, to the grown-up, stamp collecting always takes a subordinate relation to earning a living. In the young child, with his personality as yet unformed, focal and peripheral interests are less de-

fined, and they shift from one category to another. What is important one day may become of secondary value another.

GUIDING INTERESTS

The function of education and recreation in fostering and directing interest is evident. They must encourage spontaneity, supply suitable means of expressing it, and give it meaning and significance. When this is the case, resourcefulness, adaptability, and the capacities of the individual are developed and enhanced, and attitudes of friendliness, security, and poise are established. On the other hand, when spontaneity is frustrated or misdirected, one's powers grow barren and his disposition becomes rebellious, stubborn, and hostile. A great many parents and teachers mistake a temporary interest in music, for example, as being permanent, and the child is "forced" to learn and to practice. There are people by the thousands whose dullness in and aversion to music was conditioned by such unwise use of a transitory interest. It is essential for parents, teachers, and recreational workers to be clear as to the nature of an interest displayed by a child, for overemphasis may turn what might have been a pleasant diversion of a permanent nature into an unpleasant forced situation, with consequent negative reactions. When spontaneous flow of energy is received with sympathy and is supplied with adequate and appropriate outlets, it becomes the warp and woof out of which wholesome and balanced character is formed.

Our discussion on page 13 of sports, as exemplified by baseball, is an illustration of the unwise extension of a focal interest into adulthood that should be peripheral. Interest in sports that evokes adolescent enthusiasm and preoccupation may block the intellectual and emotional growth of the adult if it crowds out interests that are more relevant to mature needs. What is normal and desirable for the child and the adolescent may be entirely incongruous for an adult. This does not mean that games and sports have no place in the life of grown-ups. What is objected to here is that in too many adults in America, sports are raised to almost a focal interest, which arrests maturity. Colleges, commercial recreation and newspapers, are among those responsible for this situation.

The practical problem of helping young people and children to choose the most profitable recreational activities has as yet not been adequately solved, but the very fact that there is an awareness of the need for such guidance indicates an important development in recreational thought and practice. It shows that, though spontaneous, recreation need not be haphazard, and that it is possible to help participants to utilize their time and effort both profitably and pleasantly. This devolves upon the recreationist an added responsibility of guidance, in addition to his old function of supervising play; it raises recreation to a professional level, requiring training and insight. But if recreation is to make an optimum contribution to mental health, it will need to expand its horizons and function far beyond its present scope. One of these functions is understanding the individual and knowing how to meet his needs. Several techniques currently employed in fitting recreation to the individual will be briefly described in the following pages.

Recreational activities in summer camps and open-air playgrounds are easily accessible to participants. Since there is a comparatively small variety, participants can readily attach themselves to any activity and move on to another when they desire. The physical layout of play and recreational areas makes them open to view, and one can make his choice to accord with his spontaneous preference at any given time. The recreational opportunities afforded in a gymnasium fall, to a large extent, in this category. The equipment of a gymnasium is known, and those who plan to use it are aware in advance of its possibilities. They know what they would like to do and understand the occupations offered.

This is not so true of the more complicated and varied recreation in the more inclusive centers, such as boys' clubs, "Y" buildings, neighborhood houses, and schools. Many work-, play-, and club rooms are not open to view, as is a playground; and one cannot choose through visual response. It is necessary first to get acquainted with the many rooms and activities, which necessitates visiting the various rooms and play areas or having them pointed out.

It has been the practice in the past to leave to chance the matter of childrens' and adolescents' interests, but this method

was found to be administratively confusing and educationally unsound. As a result, several methods for recreational guidance have been evolved, as follows:

1. *Central Intake.* A recent development in guiding individuals in their recreational pursuits, discovering their interests, as well as uncovering actual or potential personality problems and maladjustments is the "central intake." In recreational agencies where this method is used, applicants for membership are interviewed by a case worker or otherwise qualified person. The questions asked are usually general, but are directed to reveal enough of the basic nature of the applicant's background: social and economic status, constitution of the family, former and present interests, group associations, attitude toward members of family, reason for joining the agency, state of health, and conflicts that the boy or girl may have at home, at school, or with playmates. The "intake worker" guides himself by this information in assigning, suggesting, or exposing the applicant to groups or individual recreational activities. These facts are important also for understanding his behavior at the recreation center, for diagnosing personality problems, and for following through in the home and school when this is indicated. This material can be obtained by a questionnaire, but an individual interview is preferable.

2. *Personal Interview.* The most common method now employed by intake workers is the informal interview. The applicant is made to understand that if he does not desire to do so, he need not answer any of the questions asked him. Some interviewers aim to explore the applicant's personality; others are content to ascertain his interests and hobbies.

It is difficult, however, to proceed with such an interview far without gleaning some basic character traits, material and emotional deprivations, hostilities, and friendships. This situation creates a real difficulty in recreational guidance. It is obviously undesirable to view all applicants as potential problems or to bring to surface their difficulties. The interviewer's personal orientation in this regard is of extreme importance. Lack of training and immaturity may lead him to read serious problems into everyday tensions and disturbances. On the other hand, it

is just as easy to overlook problems that require special attention. One neighborhood center, for example, reports that 30 per cent of its rather large membership present more or less serious adjustment difficulties. In view of the fact that the membership of neighborhood centers frequently runs into thousands, the number of social risks is indeed great.

Recreationists must work on the assumption that applicants are, by and large, wholesome individuals. Recreation's function is not to cure but to amuse. We use here the term "amuse" in the qualified sense of the "expectation of pleasure." Despite the fact that recreation has been found useful in treatment of emotional and mental ills, its main concern is the "normal" population. The extent to which a recreational agency can go beyond this function has to be determined by each agency depending on location, neighborhood needs, equipment, and personnel—particularly the latter.[8] However, it is rather desirable that recreationists, like teachers, do not assume the function of therapists. Their responsibilities lie with the ordinary individual.

Individualization, as contrasted with pure mass activity, is a recognized need and pattern for modern recreation. But this must not be confounded with treatment or therapy. The average and the normal need individualization as well. It must be remembered that "average" is a mathematical concept and "normal" a relative term. Thus flexibility in programming, freedom of choice, and a differential approach must be the rule in all recreation. Deviant individuals would require special consideration, and methods and programs have to be adjusted to meet their needs.

3. *The Questionnaire.* A less personalized and less searching method employed in exploring recreational needs is the questionnaire method. The applicant receives a detailed list of activities, printed or mimeographed, and is asked to check or underscore those in which he would like to participate. The activities are grouped under such titles as quiet games, playground, street games, clubs, special-interest groups, shops, athletics, laboratories, reading, publications, music, art, dancing, dramatics, and others that a given center offers.

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[8] See Chapter VII.

The determination of interests by this method is not very reliable, because the respondents—especially young children—have little firsthand knowledge of the nature of these activities and even less experience with them to make a decision. In making his choice, the child has to rely largely on heresay as to the nature of the activities offered or on the attractiveness of the names. Usually the fact that a friend belongs to a group is enough reason for the applicant also to register for it. Rivalry with a sibling or someone in the neighborhood is frequently sufficient motive for choice.

4. *Choice by Exposure.* Another method for choosing that has many advantages is one by exposure, where the newcomer is allowed to "browse" around the building for some time until he can make up his mind. An intake worker or some other member of the staff takes the newcomer around the building, and the latter is allowed to remain in any of the rooms or play areas that seem attractive to him. This process can be repeated until he finally settles in some of the activities offered.

The advantages of this method is that choice is made on the basis of actual observation or participation, rather than from a list. It has the disadvantages, however, of creating a "floating group," which may interfere with other participants.

5. *Choice by Experimentation.* Another application of the exposure method just described is the experimental method. The applicant is offered the opportunity to choose from a list a number of activities in which he can remain a week or two before arriving at a final decision. This plan combines either the interview or questionnaire with exposure. In centers where personnel is limited, this may be the most satisfactory procedure.

In practice, it may be necessary to use more than one method, or a combination of several. It must also be remembered that in every neighborhood center there are activities, open to all comers, that require no definite registration or assignment. Such are the various game rooms, play areas, shops, and libraries. Older children and adolescents who have had previous experience know in advance what they prefer by the way of recreation and have definite plans for themselves. At all times individual preferences are paramount.

RECREATION, THERAPY, AND PREVENTION

We have already indicated in different connections that it is necessary to understand the reactions of individuals to others more deeply than is the usual practice. Many situations that present themselves are pathological enough to require consultation with a psychologist or psychiatrist. An increasing number of recreational centers have found it necessary to include psychologists and psychiatric case workers on their staffs, who interpret the character, behavior, and needs of participants and help in adjusting them. A trained and gifted interviewer can detect even in a single contact the applicants who may have difficulties. Clues are offered by such details as physical appearance, body structure and attitudes, the ease or strain with which questions are answered, shifting in the seat, halt and blocking when speaking of members of the family, and numerous other details that assume significance to the discerning eye.

In a real sense, recreation can serve as an important preventive and corrective for some types of adjustment difficulties. It can supply releasing physical activities, allay feelings of difference and inadequacy through group acceptance, and reduce the many tensions in social adjustment. The child who feels inferior to a brother or sister and rejected by parents will show it in his relationships. Recreational activities can be so planned for him as to give him enough satisfactions to build up his ego and to establish self-esteem. The frightened child can, by very slow stages, gain the conviction that he need not be afraid of people, since they are friendly and understanding. Success, praise, and acceptance by the group and by adults give him the security he lacks. His paralyzed and constrained will is activated, his powers are released, and as a result behavior grows normal and satisfactory.

A director of recreation must be able to discern hidden goals behind bizarre and unusual behavior. Restlessness and overactivity may be symptoms of anxiety and guilt, the causes of which are many. Some of them are masturbation, inferiority, group rejection, physical weakness, small size. Opportunities for special types of work, the degree of self-expression, approval or disapproval, restraint or permissiveness, are based as correctives in accordance with the specific problems of the individual.

A child ignored at home or failing at school must be successful in his recreational activities and feel fully accepted by the adults in the center. If he is physically inadequate for sports, he can gain self-confidence through success in some other field.

Because he satisfies the cravings of the individual, the leader becomes an important influence in the lives and development of children, and even of adults, for here is the ideal setting for a positive transference relation. One does things for an adult whom one likes. Even very destructive children and young people will often restrain themselves because of the affection and confidence of an adult.

Aggressive individuals can be very troublesome to a recreational setting; indeed, they may become so disturbing as to render the experience undesirable to other members who are constantly challenged and irritated. Those in charge find themselves giving most of their attention to the problem individuals at the cost of the less aggressive participants, a situation that diminishes the value of recreation to the community. We must keep in mind that efforts at correcting behavior in the few may defeat the larger aims of recreation, which is service to the many. It may, therefore, become necessary to exclude the difficult individuals and refer them for treatment either individually or in special groups. It is best that such groups do not meet in large institutions. The main focus of the worker's attention are individual members, whose development is closely followed. He observes the progress, relationships, and needs of each member so as to relieve rather than aggravate his difficulties. The groups and activities provide an attenuated reality where social pressures and standards of behavior and achievement are scaled down. One of the values to the members of these special or protected groups is that they are removed, temporarily at least, from associations that may aggravate their problems or threaten their security.[9]

Efforts at adjustment of deviant and disturbing people have to be made with great caution, however. The recreationist can-

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[9] See Slavson, S. R., *An Introduction to Group Therapy* (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1943), pp. 1-26. Also Davis, John Eisele and Dunton, William Rush, *Principles and Practice of Recreational Therapy* (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1936).

not and should not be expected to be a therapist, any more than is a teacher in the classroom. Although his training ought to equip him to recognize pathology, he need not be expert at treating it. His function lies elsewhere, and spreading himself too thinly may diminish his usefulness. He may also find it confusing, to say the least, and distressing to play the roles of both therapist and recreationist at the same time. The treatment of problem people should be left to those who are experts and who devote their professional attention to it. Psychiatric case workers and psychiatrists can do a much better job. This is especially true where the pathology is deep-rooted and involves factors that require psychiatric treatment of any degree of intensity. The recreationist ought not rely entirely upon his judgment as to the seriousness and involvement of a problem. Frequently a behavior symptom appears mild and insignificant on the surface, but the specialist may recognize it as a forerunner of progressive personality deterioration, psychoses, or serious neurological malfunction. One who is aware of the depth and complexity of his own specialty must of necessity develop regard and appreciation of others' expertness, and he will not make incursions into areas different from his own.

CHAPTER IV

Recreation and the Democratic Culture

IN A RECREATION CENTER, the staff, chaired by the director, meets. There is tension among those assembled. It seems that this particular center is approaching the turning point in its work. The representatives of the intermediates, sixteen-to-eighteen-year-old boys and girls, broke up the House Council's meeting a few days before, in protest against the restrictions imposed upon them. They demanded more freedom, wanted more dances and "mixed clubs." These youngsters are irked by some of the rules set up by the House. Why can't they be on a par with the older men and women? They are no longer children; they can meet till twelve o'clock if they like. Why make them get out of the building by ten thirty? Why must they stop their dances before midnight if the seniors can hold theirs until one in the morning? The staff always did take advantage of the intermediates; that's because the staff are not afraid of them. They wouldn't treat the seniors like that; they wouldn't dare!

One youthful speaker after another had taken the floor and vehemently denounced the seniors, the staff, the director, and the chairman of the Council, a senior, who insisted on conducting the meeting in an orderly fashion. Every explanation by those staff members who had been present at the Council meeting was construed as only one more move in the repressive program of the elders. The meeting had grown tumultuous and disorderly; feelings rose high, and the director, realizing that the situation was out of hand, suggested to the chairman that the meeting be declared at an end.

Now they have gathered to decide on the next step. There is much talk and gossip among the members of the neighborhood center. The more emotional members threaten the staff, and exaggerate the conflict and its outcome. The question before the meeting is whether they should "let them get away

with it." The staff members are divided. Some see in this development a real educational situation. Here is an opportunity to demonstrate that democracy really is in action. The democratic process must prevail at all costs! The director must meet with the Council delegates, with representatives of all the clubs in the age group, and, if necessary, hold a discussion forum of all the members of the fourteen clubs. The administration must justify every rule and have it accepted by the boys and girls themselves. If it cannot substantiate any of the rulings, even if they were set up by the House Council, the House must abolish them. This is education for democracy.

The other extreme view promulgated is that the members already have too much freedom and don't know what to do with it. "The more you give them, the more they want." Their behavior at the Council only shows that they must be curbed. Take away all their privileges until they show by their conduct that they deserve the freedom they already have.

DEMOCRATIC VERSUS AUTOCRATIC RECREATION

At the present point, it is not important to relate that the first course—the democratic way—was adopted and worked successfully. What is important to note is that in education, whether formal or informal—and especially in the latter—we are nearly always confronted with crossroad situations such as these. Also, it is necessary for us to realize that the effectiveness of education lies in the process. We can either discipline and punish or help convert infantile impetuosity into mature self-control. Adolescence, the age of the "intermediates" in question, is the time when drives for independence and self-determination are most intense. This may appear as rebelliousness and is, in fact, often described as such. Actually, it is a bid for independence, a demand to participate as equals. Young people rebel against their own feelings of dependence or the patronizing treatment of them by adults. This is the age when the "self" gathers its forces to strike out on its own. We must encourage it.

In a dictatorship, the self-determination of youth and free choice are punished and repressed. All the attitude-determining forces—home, State, school, Church, literature, traditions, and mores—emphasize submergence of self to the State or its ap-

proved values. Follow-the-leader attitude is inculcated at every point. Youth has no faith in itself, and its power is a reflection of the powers that be.

In primitive communities, recreation, training, and education are one and the same process, used to condition and control conduct and values, as well as for play. Boy and girl are taught tribal ritualism and everyday duties. In fact, many of the rituals are concerned with daily affairs, common behavior and deportment. Play is rigidly supervised by relatives at first, and by special functionaries later. Although much progress has been made toward separating religion, law, education, and recreation, the now defunct totalitarian countries had re-introduced the patterns of primitive society. Toys, subject to approval by government officials, were designed to inculcate specific ideologies, attitudes, and values. The play of children also came under severe scrutiny, and only those games that fitted into the scheme of the autocrats were permitted.

The intent was Spartan toughness and inhumanity. Nations that set out "to bring up a generation of youth with a gleam of the hunting animal in their eyes" (Hitler) and whose leaders held that "peace would be a great calamity to mankind" (Mussolini) must of necessity evolve techniques to perpetuate such ideas. Youth was rigidly organized into military or semi-military organizations. They drilled and played at war; and their minds were steeped in ambitions for conquest, national superiority, and harshness. The toys made available for little children of six and seven consisted exclusively of guns, cannon, soldiers, and uniforms. Free association was not permitted. One could join only approved groups, in order that one's mind would not be "poisoned" by liberal or humanistic ideas and feelings. Greetings were standardized, and conversation limited and circumscribed. One could talk about "safe" topics only. Ideas and play for children and adults were permitted only when they buttressed the foundational ideology and ambitions of the governing group.

Adult recreation was similarly curtailed; outlets were few, variety small. No initiative was permitted except by government sanction. All human associations were *ipso facto* open to suspicion. Sports were encouraged only because they nurture

infantilism, egotism, personal and national pride; while literary and free discussion groups were taboo. Creative expression in any form was allowed only to the extent that it conformed to the rigidly prescribed pattern and content of the "Ministry of Enlightenment and Culture," and "departments of thought control."

Now, in a democracy, there are no such limitations and controls. Free association, interchange of ideas, creative expression, spontaneous group life are unhampered. Whatever restrictions become necessary are promulgated by representatives chosen by the governed and, despite vested interests of various kinds that prevent the full exercise of democratic prerogatives, restrictions are by and large intended to safeguard the freedom of the individual.

Recreation as individual release and as group experience can flourish only in a democracy. In fact, the scope and spontaneity in recreation in a nation can be used as a measure of democracy, for democracy is interested in individual development and enrichment of personality. It is for this reason that recreation must be viewed in the light of the democratic life pattern. Recreation in a democracy, like democracy itself, seeks to develop in the individual dignity, self-respect, faith, and self-confidence. At the same time, it encourages group participation, sharing, and communal feelings. These are the foundation stones of a democracy; they are also the bases of education and recreation for democracy. Democracy is the coming of age of a nation, for in a truly democratic society the members must be mature people who are able to plan together and to carry out decisions for the good of all. Education prepares for democratic living, as demonstrated by the situation related at the opening of this chapter. Had the authoritarian approach prevailed, it would have not only discouraged maturity in our members but in addition, they, at their age, would have become hostile and resentful toward the adults and the institution. By inviting them as equals to solve their problem, we demonstrated our faith in them, helped them become responsible, more realistic and deliberative. Thus they were better prepared for democratic living.

THE ARTICULATE VERSUS THE DEPENDENT COMMUNITY

The method described lays the foundation for what may be termed the *articulate community*. In a democracy, people are encouraged to articulate their grievances and preferences, and the community as such also becomes articulate. But in a democracy, verbalization is not enough; verbal expression must culminate in some kind of action. A democratic group does not wait on the leader or dictator. The group asserts itself; it takes initiative.

In the past, social improvements were planned and carried out by various reform groups. They were instrumental in bringing about better conditions for slum dwellers, for example, but with little participation by the latter. Although one would not wish to underestimate the benefits derived from such efforts, it is clear that the procedure employed was not in consonance with the democratic spirit. Neighborhoods were made to depend upon outsiders, instead of encouraged to take initiative themselves. Although a degree of paternalism was probably necessary at the time, it soon became distasteful; for as immigrants became acclimatized to the democratic atmosphere of their new homeland, they wished to become self-reliant and act for themselves. Leaders in community organization now encourage popular participation in bringing about social change. School principals hold forums and meetings at which the community takes the initiative in discussing its own affairs. Movements for housing improvement, fire prevention, elimination of fire-trap school buildings, civic reforms, and political pressure groups are set afoot through communal effort, rather than through socially minded professionals or volunteers.

This is the articulate community, as differentiated from the *dependent community*. In the latter, the pattern of earlier parasitical dependence is continued. In order that we may evolve attitudes and habits that accord more with the principles of democracy, it is necessary that education and recreation encourage self-assertion and initiative. In a democracy, schools need to be democratically managed, not only in matters of administration, but also in actual classroom procedures. Demo-

cratic control is even more necessary in free-time and informal education and recreation.[1]

DEMOCRACY AS AN ATTITUDE

Democracy has to be understood as more than a form of administrative procedure, such as voting and taking part in making decisions. Democracy is also an attitude of mind and a set of values that include ideas of equality and difference: that *all* people are fundamentally equal in their rights as human beings; that *all* have an equal right to the pursuit of their own happiness in their *own* way, even though they differ from us. Democracy means the ability on the part of the individual to modify his views to aid the group. It means, further, that the individual is free in his thinking, action, and movement, conditioned and limited only by responsibility to the group as a whole and to individuals in it. Democracy guarantees personal autonomy, but at the same time aims to develop in each individual an altruistic attitude; it is a relationship among human beings that makes them hospitable to one another and to one another's ideas. Thus democracy is rooted in personal values as well as in administration—values that cannot be fostered in an authoritarian atmosphere.

The activities of a recreational center are excellently suited for democratic education. There are numerous possibilities here for the practice and training in democracy. The Recreational Council, for example, can appoint committees to work with the staff, on an equal basis, in areas such as physical education, social dances, library, shops, quiet rooms, publications, finance, exhibits, community affairs, housing, and others that may come before the Council from time to time. The committees are responsible for planning and carrying out projects, subjects to the sanction of the General Council. There are, of course, many risks in this plan; but nothing that is worth while educationally can be accomplished without some risks. However, where there exists mutual confidence and trust, difficulties are reduced to a minimum.

[1] This aspect of the school is discussed more fully in the present writer's "Group Education for a Democracy" and "A Plan for Group Education in the Elementary School," in *Journal of Educational Sociology* (December, 1939, and May, 1940).

The four foundations upon which democracy rests are: *freedom, status, participation,* and *responsibility.*

Freedom. The individual is free to choose his friends, interests, and activities; to travel and select his abode; to express his views, beliefs, and convictions. But freedom is conditioned by the rights and convictions of others; it is not limitless and unrestricted. Freedom implies responsibility to and for others. If one violates the rights of others, the latter are also free to reject and isolate the culprit. The difference between such limitations and the submissiveness found in an autocratic society lies in the fact that in the former one is protected by the limitations against the incursion by others; also, that limitations in a democracy are not imposed arbitrarily. Rather, the individual accepts them, and they thus soon become self-imposed.

To the young child, freedom is of great importance; for, through its exercise, he can discover himself, his powers, and abilities, and acquire ways of relating himself to other people.

Status. Status is the second cornerstone of democracy. One who can express his views and has personal freedom also has status. In its narrower meaning, "status" implies respect, approval, and recognition. The need for response is a basic need of man, to which can be added the needs for acceptance and belonging. In well-planned recreation, one gains status by virtue of specific talents and personal qualities. The poet as well as the gymnast, the mechanic and the intellectual, the musician and the ice skater, the leader and the follower, each finds his level and is accepted because of his special ability of interest. This plan places a considerable burden and responsibility upon directors, but it must be remembered that only in this way can we make our contribution to the development of a healthy people and a rational society. Recreationists cannot, in all fairness to their larger mission, continue in the old way, where the only persons with status were the recreational director and the athletic "stars." Every participant must have status.

Participation. Participation is the most obvious element in the democratic process. It can be direct—as when the individual takes part in making plans and decisions—or indirect—as in instances when power is delegated to individuals or committees. As long as the group or citizens retain the powers of

censure and recall, each member or citizen participates in that power.

Responsibility. Responsibility, as it relates to democracy, has already been indicated. It is an attitude of mind that makes one accountable to oneself and to others for meeting stated or tacit demands of a group or society. Responsibility may refer to carrying out tasks that one undertakes or promises to do, it can also be an all-pervading attitude. As such, it includes thoughtfulness of others' rights, their convenience, feelings, and happiness. It also envisages one's taking part in improving society and in creating a life of the fullest benefit to all concerned. Such feelings of responsibility act as a check upon unbridled freedom and indicate emotional maturity. Recreation fosters responsibility even when it encourages participation in such small matters as putting away equipment, tools, and materials, and in maintaining order and cleanliness. Later, the areas expand to larger matters and radiate out into the neighborhood, community, nation, and the larger world.

THE DEMOCRATIC FRAME OF REFERENCE

The author once talked with a German refugee educator. This highly educated and progressive-minded man described the school for refugees he had conducted in another European country. In order to meet the emergency resulting from expatriation and maintain discipline, he found it advisable to restrain his pupils and staff, and to discipline them more than he did in his native land. The response of this educator to the emergency was a direct result of his own early education and of the background of his pupils and staff. One can easily imagine that a person in charge of a school under similar circumstances, who had been nurtured in freedom and common responsibility, would have faith in the democratic procedure and continue with progressive practices. The frame of reference of this German educator was an autocratic one and, under pressure, he at once resorted to it, though he rejected it intellectually. A person with a democratic background would extend rather than curtail the democratic and group process.

When persons with an authoritarian frame of reference meet up with a crisis or difficulty, they at once fall back upon

authority. The involuntary thought that arises in their mind is: "Who will solve this problem?" This is an outcome of early patterns of domination and submission, rather than of co-operation. On the other hand, a person who has lived in a democracy from childhood would respond by asking himself: "How can *we* solve this problem?" It is this involuntary and immediate reaction that we refer to as the *democratic frame of reference*. The function of recreation and education in a democracy is to establish such an intellectual and emotional pattern through participation, freedom, responsibility, and personal autonomy. To achieve these lofty ends, it is necessary to have a democratic spirit permeating the entire atmosphere of the home, school, and recreational center.[2]

DEMOCRACY AS EXPERIENCE

Among the chief contributions of democratic practices to character is that the self-image discussed in Chapter I, page 24, is identified with the group image. Where interindividual reactions are limited and group associations controlled, the frame of reference is naturally an individualistic one, and the individual becomes an extension of the central authority. Where identification with others is a part of early education, the image of the self becomes associated with others, and the trend is to fuse one's life with the group. This is commonly referred to as the "socialized character."

Miss Williams makes out a good case, and an inspiring one, for experience in democracy as a method in personality growth.

> Out of our adventures together, out of all we have felt together, discovered together, believed together, emerges a new gravity of spirit as we face the future. We had never thought to admit that any leap could tax our stride. But more and more we are conscious of social forces which raise barriers to our ambitions, and check our aspirations. They flow across the path, "brooks too broad for leaping."
>
> Too broad for leaping? Perhaps. Yet may they not be crossed? Out of these same experiences which have brought relaxation, from every level of feeling from which our verses are wrought, has been

[2] For a detailed description of the methods and procedures for applying the democratic pattern in recreation, see record material in Chapter VI.

created in us that which would serve as our bridge over "brooks too broad for leaping."[3]

Here horizons have been widened, ingenuity and originality stimulated through a close relationship and a "spiritual incandescence" that grew out of the interstimulation of the personalities in a group. One of the members of the group formulates her feelings concerning her experiences in the club. A verse of her's has been accepted for an anthology, and when the publishers ask her for a brief biographical statement, she muses:

> I shall tell them I was brought up in Toad Hall; tell them it was a place where I learned how to think; tell them it was a place where I learned a certain extravagance of the spirit; tell them it was the place where I gained the poise that comes with integrity, with being one's self; and tell them, too, that it was the one place in the world for me where the philosophy of materialism did not prevail—where the primary purpose was not: encourage the "young things" to discover new ways of making money, but rather, new ways of finding meaning.[4]

This indeed is creative recreation. The richness of activities of the young adults in this group is glimpsed from the following in the same paper:

> For new girls, the club room itself offers an original approach. More basic, however, is the tradition of originality in program that is established in the experience of groups each year since the founding of Toad Hall. Out of these groups come such things as: a Skyloft, decorated in the agency building for the selling of spring wares from the Craft Studio: music, which is the interactive process at its best, where they sing, as did once the madrigal singers in England, as if to one another, with the freedom and spontaneity to make up a gay song or to add their own phrases to fit in with the rhythm. There has come also a Celebration of the Advent of Spring. Last March there was excitement in the air, surprise plans for the day when spring would come. When it arrived, members came for breakfast and brought flowers, and the balloon man, at the proper moment, brought silver and blue balloons. Everyone felt extravagant, passing to others their flowers and their balloons.

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[3] Williams, Gladys, "I Was Brought Up in Toad Hall," in *The Practice of Group Work*, edited by Dorothea Sullivan (New York, Association Press, 1941), p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

They climbed a ladder to the roof of the building. Then they let go over the city their balloons, to which they had tied shipping tags with their own unsigned spring verse on one side, and on the other, "This is to announce that Spring has Come! Toad Hall." In such a celebration they take their cue from the seasons and catch the moment expressed by one of them in "Spring Tracery":

> "When people have mustered courage
> To look at one another as they pass."[5]

Potentialities in this direction are brought forth through active relationships with other people. Things and activities alone do not socialize an individual. That which is human in us is activated by other humans, and the function of education and recreation is to make the human animal into a human being. An isolated child would not learn language or other means of communication; he would not develop ideas, concepts, and thoughts; he would not acquire social amenities and manners that make people acceptable to one another; his aggressions would not be sublimated into socially acceptable or desirable avenues. He would not be a human being.

Human personality is the outcome of stimuli and responses; lacking stimulation, man can remain or revert to the lowest levels of animalism. Because of the importance of intimate relations in education and recreation emphasis is laid on them in a democracy. Face-to-face relations activate intellectual and emotional processes, set attitudes, and socialize the individual. If man is to overcome his feeling of isolation, his distance from other people, and develop a desire and technique for group living, he must experience people directly; he must solve problems and resolve conflicts in a variety of situations before he is able to fuse his life with the life of others.

Miss Vana Harris summarizes a year's activity of a group of girls as follows:

> Even were one to disregard all that the club has done this year, its contribution to the growth of one individual would justify its existence. The president of the group at the beginning of the year was untrained and uncertain. Born on a farm in Wisconsin and one of a large family in which the father dominated completely the home situation, Rose had had no opportunity to make her own

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

decisions until she left home three years ago to take a housework job in the Northwest. Rose came to the club two years ago seeking companionship and something to do on Thursdays. She was a good-natured, dependable club member, following quite consistently with the majority, lacking imagination and self-confidence. The fact that certain more obvious leaders of the group were unavailable as candidates for president, plus the fact that Rose's even temper and dependability had led to her acceptance by the majority of the group, resulted in her election.

. . . there is within this group an articulate expression of approval and disapproval that is quite unusual. The group quite naturally included Rose's inadequacy as a presiding officer in those things of which they disapproved. The disapproval was not translated into a personal criticism of Rose, and because of this it did not result in a defeatist attitude on Rose's part. Rather, it offered her a challenge to improve, which she accepted by instigating the formation of a parliamentary-procedure class. Her experience as a presiding officer thus helped her grow in poise and self-confidence, and by spring she had become a real force in the group.

Subsequently Rose entered a training school for practical nursing. In leaving, she expressed her appreciation to the professional staff and the club by saying that her experience in the club had made it possible for her to take this important step; that working with others, feeling responsible for the club, and having to make up her own mind on issues had made it possible to decide the direction her own life should take.[6]

GROUP-CENTERED RECREATION

An important condition that determines the nature of recreation in cities is population density. The herding of large numbers of people of necessity creates many psychological and social problems: the weakening of family ties and restraints, the migrant, and the spread of delinquency and crime.[7] Living in close proximity to one another arouses in people their collective, if not their social instincts. The stimulation that we

[6] Harris, Vana, "Group Work Meets Working Girl" in *The Practice of Group Work* (New York, Association Press, 1941), pp. 186-187.

[7] It must not be assumed that undesirable concomitants are the only ones that accrue from industrial society. We can point as a result of close living and interchange to such achievements as the arts and the sciences, improved hygienic conditions, better physical health, and increased longevity. We can point to complete elimination of plagues and epidemics; to increased cultural possibilities of large cities as compared with small towns, villages, or hamlets. The question whether the totality of human happiness has increased as a result, each must settle for himself.

derive from contact with others also increases the disposition for association. People who live in greater isolation or who are remotely removed from one another—as farmers in the Middle West, for example—are less likely to develop the need for constant or even frequent association with one another. Physical nearness and frequent interaction with other people intensifies the psychological need and cravings for association. It would seem that social dispositions, like any other tendency, grow and are intensified with exercise. In addition to this intensification of people's need for one another in modern populations, conditions of city life have removed the possibilities for "normal" living that we have already described at several points in preceding pages. Society, therefore, must provide some substitutes for them or redirect them to some form of satisfying expressions.

Modern recreation is *group-centered* as well as individually focused. It is evident that the cultural level, tolerance, and breadth of spirit are outcomes of the influences that other people exert upon us. Without such influences, very little can be expected from the average person. However, it is important that groups do not become too large and unwieldy for personal relations. Mass activity has its place in the recreation of adolescents and adults. But it cannot become the sole or even the major recreational medium. As Dr. Harold D. Meyer remarks:

> It is better, recreationally speaking, to have a thousand recreational activities with one or two participants, than to have one event with five thousand participants.

There has grown in recent years a rich and varied literature on the values of "group work" to a democratic society and to the individual. Although there is still considerable lack of clarity as to its nature, there is agreement that intimate group relationships are of primary importance to personality development. Psychiatrists, sociologists, penologists, anthropologists, teachers, social workers, and recreationists all agree that character and attitudes are outcomes of intimate and close relations with people.

An intensive study of delinquency prevention in New York City was made some years ago by a Commission of the Board of Education. One of the recommendations brought in was for

the establishment of residential camps for all pupils under school auspices; another was to extend the program of parent education; still another was to give greater attention to the *study of human relationships.* Among the major considerations by the Commission was the need for "vigorous expression of the physical energy of the child." This would include, according to the report, development of skill and practice in the graphic and dramatic arts; trips and excursions to widen the experience of the pupils; vocational training for "personality adjustment." Another recommendation was *to extend community centers, group, and recreational activities.*

This is a significant development; for in this statement classroom, informal education, and recreation are fused into one. Recreationists and group workers find here the confirmation of a view that their work is more than filling in leisure time. It is education in its highest meaning, with a major contribution to personality growth, social development, and mental health.

It is important in this connection to make clear that a group is not a mere gathering of a number of people in one place. It is the process within the group that makes it important to education:

> A group is conceived as consisting of three or more persons in an informal relation where there is a maximum inter-penetration and prolonged direct emotional activity among the individuals constituting it, and as a result of which the personality of each member is modified. By this definition the group is limited to a small number, for there is little or no possibility of deeply affecting relations in a large mass. Large masses . . . do not provide the situations for inter-penetration and direct face-to-face experience.[8]

Recreationists, therefore, must be equipped to create situations in which positive interpersonal dynamics are activated, for one of the major values of recreation in a democracy is to supply opportunity for activity in a group setting. Group life is part and parcel of the democratic plan. Hence, in recreation as well as in other areas of education, the evolving group

[8] Slavson, S. R., *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York, Association Press, 1939), p. 74.

process should be planned and encouraged. Every child must be given opportunities to take part in groups as he becomes ready for it. The capacity in young children for association is limited at first, and grows with age until it extends to community, national, and international life. In their leisure-time activities, people must grow to comprehend and function in an ever-extending area and ever-evolving interests.

The spontaneous formation of groups as a result of interest homogeneity is the initial basis for group formation. This is particularly true with younger children. As the members grow older, they group themselves in accordance with social homogeneity. Among the types of groups that a recreation leader comes across are the primary groups, the compulsory group, the motivated group, the voluntary group, the interest-homogeneity group, and the multi-activity group.[9]

Throughout our discussion of the individual and his recreation, it has been our aim to emphasize the fact that recreation is most valuable when it is individual-centered rather than *en masse;* and that, since in modern society every individual must find his way into a group or groups, human life is group life. It is, therefore, necessary to keep in mind that actually recreation is group-centered as well as individual-centered. The group is both the tool and the aim of true education. We prepare the individual for a life in a group and in an interdependent society by utilizing the group as a tool in education and recreation.

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[9] See Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press, 1937), pp. 17-23.

CHAPTER V

The Problem of Competition

Sources of the Competitive Motive

The competitive motive is used in recreation and education by many teachers and directors who do not utilize natural interests and motivations for activity and learning.[1] Because of tradition, they often resort to competition, as the easy way out and as a convenient substitute for skill and knowledge. However, as recreation becomes more professionalized, as practitioners are better chosen and trained, the undesirable aspect of competition in school and leisure education will be lessened and probably eliminated.

Sharply contrasted attitudes toward competition in nature and life are set forth by a number of writers. Empedocles, the Greek philosopher and poet, who lived twenty-four hundred years ago, believed in a universal and fundamental co-operation in nature. According to him, there are natural elements—fire, earth, air, and water—which are acted upon by the combining power of love and the disrupting power of hate. Under the guidance of the building force of love, the separate elements came together and formed the world. Separate parts of plants and various unassorted pieces of animals arose from the earth. These, Empedocles taught:

> . . . were often combined, and at first the results were monstrous shapes, which in time became straightened around until, still guided by combining love, they clicked, to make the more perfect animals we now know.[2]

On the other hand, we have the statement by the Norwegian philosopher, Schyelderup-Ebbe to the effect that:

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[1] See pages 57-63.

[2] Allee, W. C., *The Social Life of Animals* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1938), p. 23.

Despotism is the basic idea of the world, indissolubly bound up with all life and existence. On it rests the meaning of the struggle for existence. . . . There is nothing that does not have a despot . . . usually a great number of despots. The storm is despot over the water; the lightning over the rock; water over the stone, which it dissolves.[3]

In 1700, the Earl of Shaftsbury recognized

. . . fairly clearly that nature presents a racial impulse that has regard for others, as well as a drive for individual self-preservation; that, in fact, there are racial drives that go beyond personal advantage, and can only be explained by their advantage to the group.[4]

One of the most potent slogans of today is that "competition is the law of life." In our social relations, this is translated as: "May the best man win, and the devil take the hindmost." In fact, one hears this attitude frequently justified by such quotations from the Bible as Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and the statement that "God is a man of war." The individualistic and competitive criteria for life are also buttressed by biological, anthropological, psychological, and ethical laws.

MUTUAL AID IN NATURE

Those who have not read Darwin's works discriminatingly have pounced upon his "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" as slogans for human living. As we shall attempt to show presently, even if these were true of species lower in the biologic scale, they would still not hold for human society. But it so happens that they are not true even of lower animals. The "survival of the fittest" is an incomplete concept. It operates only in specific areas of food-getting and mating, and then only to a limited degree. The law applies more to species than to individuals. We find, for example, a situation among birds described by J. T. Nichols, of the American Museum of Natural History, in which the leader of a flock of birds repeatedly wheels around and flies back to the flock as soon as he outdistances them. The "wheeling" is a regular performance among flocking birds, and a mechanism of group behavior and leader-

[3] *Ibid*, p. 24.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 24.

ship is present among fish, birds, and mammals. Professor Allee concludes from numerous observations that

> . . . apparently, at least among so-called lower animals, the leader is as frequently as dependent on his followers as they are on him, and often even more so.[5]

Numerous species of insects find safety in numbers and rely upon one another for their life and survival. There comes to mind the better known species who hibernate in large numbers. The ladybird beetle is an excellent though less known example of this. With the approach of winter, these beetles collect "in restricted and favorable places where they hibernate together." In addition to hibernating aggregations, there are breeding aggregations of worms, crustaceans, fishes, frogs, snakes, birds, and mammals. We are equally well acquainted with migratory mass expeditions of various birds, the bison, wild horses, and insects such as grasshoppers and locusts, rats and mice.

Prince Peter Kropotkin, noted biologist, observed interesting patterns of protective group behavior among animals. While sojourning on an involuntary residence in Siberia, imposed by his cousin, Czar of all the Russians, Kropotkin continued his biological studies, which resulted in a very famous book, entitled, *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution.* He disproves many popular ideas of competition in nature and cites convincing proof to show that, without mutual aid, survival would not be possible. He found, for example, that when horses are attacked by wolves, they form a circle with their hind legs out and repulse the enemy by kicking them. The wolves become exhausted and leave. In similar circumstances, horned animals organize themselves in a reverse position, pointing their horns outward.

It would be difficult to make light of the subject of innate co-operation and mutual aid in nature after a study of aggregations of animals and plants in breeding, hibernation, migration, and defense. Here is a startling fact, taken from Professor Allee's study, that demonstrates mutual dependence, especially in time of stress:

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

When a few brittle starfishes are placed in a clean bucket of sea water they clump together like magic. In bare laboratory aquaria they remain so clumped for weeks; in fact the aggregations become more compact as time goes on as the animals bring back their extending arms and tuck them into the mass. If, however, the aquaria are dressed up by the introduction of eel grass so that conditions approach those found in nature, the aggregations disperse and the starfishes climb actively about over the blades of the eel grass, feeding on organisms and debris found on their surfaces.[6]

The more enlightened anthropologists of today have turned their major attention from studying taboo, ritualism, and consanguinal organization to considerations of primitive society that throw light on our culture. Margaret Mead, editor of *Competition and Cooperation in Primitive Societies,* finds ample evidence that primitive man was not essentially competitive. Of thirteen societies studied, only three were described as definitely competitive, with one having some co-operative features; six were found fully co-operative; and two were found co-operative, though individualistic (like our present-day capitalist society).

Among the major characteristics of our present culture that militate against group co-operation and mental, physical, and community health is competition. The drive to outdo one's neighbor is as prevalent as it is destructive, and a somewhat comprehensive discussion of it becomes necessary in relation to our present thesis. Recreation is conditioned and permeated by the competitive motive, and because of this its value for establishing and maintaining total health is decreased and in some instances entirely negated. In view of our somewhat uncompromising stand on competition, we are devoting this entire chapter to the subject.

In the development of the individual, rivalry precedes co-operation and competition outweighs altruism. But in the orderly development toward emotional maturity, the competitive and selfish drives are sloughed off, and their place is taken by the creative motive and social concerns.

The weak and the immature build their lives on competition. The strong in body and mind do their work and achieve

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 45.

by virtue of effort and competence. The insecure have to prove their worth to themselves and especially to others, and are pressed to defeat their neighbors. The emotionally secure are assured of their power and prowess, and need not outdo anyone or shine in glory. The person who aims at outstripping others is seeking status of which, deep within, he feels himself to be unworthy. The laws of mental health and physical well-being are broken through the tensions and imbalances, fears and anxieties, that competition sets up. The competitive person may accomplish much to impress others but is a failure as a person, for his basic self-image is not changed.

Mental hygiene tells us that competition, as a motive, originates in the home. It may also be caused by organic deficiencies. One short of stature is likely to develop competitive drives to compensate for his feelings of inferiority. The effeminate man may attempt to hide his feelings of inadequacy by a blustering manner and ambition, for by getting the best of men he becomes (in his own image) a better man himself. The most prevalent source of competition, however, is rivalry in the home. Where there is little security and even less love and acceptance by parents of their children, each struggles for emotional survival against brothers and sisters. In many families, there is an Esau and a Jacob. The Esaus seek by every means, usually more subtle than the Biblical character, to destroy the others. As a result, the competitive pattern becomes basic to character—an unconscious and all-pervading attitude. This is particularly evil when aided and abetted by the total culture as it is today.

RIVALRY, COMPETITION, CO-OPERATION

One of the sources of error is the confusion that exists as to the nature of competition as against rivalry. Competition has been defined as the "act of seeking or endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time." Rivalry, on the other hand, is the attempt to excel temporarily in a specific activity. Although on the surface this differentiation may seem like sophistry, actually there is an important dissimilarity between the two, both psychologically and sociologically. Rivalry originates in the desire to be accepted, to gain recognition, to

outdo another in a friendly, playful manner. It is also short-lived and temporary. When two friends play a game, they are in a relation of rivalry, which terminates as soon as the game is finished. Competition, on the other hand, is derived from the drive to mastery and possession. It has an element of destructiveness, even hostility, and implies that all means to gain one's objectives are permissible. Rivalry aims to outshine one's opponent, while competition seeks to destroy him. In rivalry, the game is the end in itself; while in competition more remote objectives are sought, such as possession and self-aggrandizement. Rivals can be friends, but competitors seldom are. Perhaps the most dangerous by-product of competition is that it becomes a permanent attitude and a part of character. If adequately motivated and practiced for a long time, one's will becomes organized around it, with deteriorating effects upon the personality and the group.

Even rivalry, and certainly competition, are regressive, as we shall presently see. They stem from primitive combat for satisfactions. Now that human life is more interdependent, their survival values have been greatly diminished; but the neurological configuration (engram) persists, and man's physical and mental processes are quickened and stimulated by rivalry. We shall also presently see that rivalry serves to set goals, which is essential for human activity. But when rivalry takes on the characteristics of competition, it no longer is energy-producing; rather, it has negative effects, for competition strains and overstimulates. It creates anxiety and worry, which result in mental and physical imbalance and tension. One of the most important responsibilities of the recreation leader is to be on the watch for the change from wholesome rivalry to harmful competition, which sometimes occurs unexpectedly. When this happens, appropriate measures to correct the situation should be taken at once.

The alarming spread of nervous ailments, of delinquency and crime, is attributed by some to the competitive pattern in society. Dr. John Eisele Davis has the following to say concerning competition:

> It is generally conceded that personality maladjustments may

naturally develop from prolonged exposure to severe and unfair competitive relationships. Satisfaction in rewards based upon being first does not take into consideration the wide range of individual differences and allows satisfaction to but a few. Inward struggles and keen emotional disturbances are created in the vain attempt of all to gain first place. Failures result in undesirable personality traits and feelings of inadequacy due to frustration. One abnormal condition creates another, and the child thus frustrated may try to compensate by extreme attempts to gain attention and through heroic and possibly theatrical efforts attempt to prove the worthwhileness of his personality. Accustomed to accept only victory, he is in no condition to receive the personal and social disapprobation of defeat. He should be conditioned to realize the inevitable and positive value of reasonable experience in defeat by objectively analyzing the factors that enter into it.[7]

Or, we may add, he can find substitutes for it.

In Chapter II, it was indicated that some of the common functions and values of recreation lie in the very facts that it can be regressive in socially approved ways, and that it serves as an avenue for discharging unconscious aggression and hostility. Through rivalry, the early conflicts for status and love in the family are relived and find more or less adequate sublimations. Competitive games of various kinds also help to redirect or sublimate aggression and hostility. Since this aspect of recreation has been elaborated upon in preceding pages, it will not be necessary to enlarge upon it here. Because rivalry serves the deeper motives of man, it quickens metabolism and sets the total organism—the physical, intellectual, and emotional energies—for action. Rivalry is a stimulant for activity; it sharpens perceptions and gives meaning to activity that otherwise may have little meaning.

Meaning is derived largely from the fact that rivalry sets a goal. Man is fundamentally a goal-pursuing animal. Every act of the sane (and probably also of the insane) person has an aim or goal. Very frequently, the goal is a hidden one and defeats understanding. The hidden unconscious and organic goals baffle detection, not because they are non-existent, but rather because they are illogical and irrational. Meaning resides

[7] Davis, John Eisele, *Play and Mental Health* (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938), pp. 2-3.

largely in the significance an event has to the individuals involved in the event. The pursuit after goals is greatly aided by rivalry games. Whereas throwing a ball into a basket or moving chessmen along a board may become monotonous and meaningless to the player, beyond an initial brief period, the activity assumes real meaning when a score (goal) is set. Rivalry in recreation, therefore serves to stimulate and prolong interest in a game or an occupation. Goal-setting is particularly necessary in adult recreation.

The child's play may or may not have an externally set aim. His play is amorphous; its aim is the play itself. Because the child craves to use muscles and faculties that mature and become ready for use, and because his play is manipulative and experimental, he does not need externally set goals; nor does he need to be conscious of definite aims. When a small child is asked what he is building with his blocks or whom he is chasing, he invents a purpose out of his fancy. He cuts wood and drives nails with no intention of making anything; just doing is enough. As he grows older, his work and play are aimed at some results. Woodcutting and nailing are intended for making a definite object, and he runs toward a base. Goals are even more important to adults. Few can indulge in aimless activity. The object in baseball is to make the most runs; in basketball, to place the ball a greater number of times than one's opponent; in golf, to reach the eighteenth hole with the least number of shots; and in cards, to make the most points. In each case, the aim or goal gives direction, organizes behavior, and gives it meaning and purpose. Thus rivalry in play and recreation becomes significant.

Competition, on the other hand, is a mental set. Its goal is most often, not a specific end in view, but rather an all-permeating drive. It may even be rationalized into a philosophy and a principle of life. As such, it is destructive of the one who is so afflicted and of those who have to deal and live with him. The practices of the jungle cannot be applied to social living without injury to all involved.

It is inevitable that there should be rivalry in the family. The wisest parents can only reduce its sharpness, but they cannot eliminate it altogether. Because of the succession of siblings,

where each inevitably takes the place of the preceding one in the attention and care of the mother, it is to be expected that the child who had been so displaced would feel his younger brother or sister as a rival to him. Where families are large and the succession of children is close, there arises an interdependence among the siblings. In normal families, in natural surroundings, the care of the younger child is taken up by an older sister, which gives the child the protection and security that he needs. In this way the keenness of the feeling of rivalry is reduced. However, where no such arrangement exists, the mother's necessary focusing of attention upon the new baby gives the older child a feeling of deprivation. One of the functions of education and recreation in development of healthy personality is to counteract these feelings by giving the child and youth acceptance and self-esteem, rather than to expose him to failure and rejection, or activate fear. It is this that is meant when we speak of "compensatory gratifications" and "rebuilding of the image of self."

The distinction between competition and co-operation is stated by Professor Edwin A. Kirkpatrick as follows:

> Co-operation involves adherence to a common plan and also individual adjustment of each to the others and thus behavior is naturally regulated more than in individual competition. The fact that a great variety of abilities may often be utilized in co-operation gives a chance for more individuals to succeed and to contribute to worthwhile ends. For these reasons co-operative activities not only prepare for citizenship, but also promote the mental health of all. They may be stimulated by common aims without engaging in contests with other groups, but are readily increased by group contests.[8]

A competitive society, as we have attempted to show in *Character Education in a Democracy,* aids and abets the competitive spirit. Its entire organization seeks to promulgate it. Success, as defined in modern society, consists in achieving the things that society considers of importance to maintain the existing social pattern, which is usually achieved in competition

[8] Kirkpatrick, Edwin A., *Mental Hygiene for Effective Living* (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), p. 330.

with others. Despite this primitivism in our culture, education's contribution to a better world is to decrease the competitive drive and to redirect and sublimate it. Recreation, particularly, is guilty of perpetuating competitive values, and it too should aim to eliminate them—as far as possible under present conditions.[9]

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND COMPETITION

Physical educators have traditionally utilized scores and prizes as goals. This practice has been so universal and consistent that competition has come to be associated with recreation, and the atmosphere in recreational agencies now reflects the competitive intent. Thus a *macro-culture* evolved in which attitudes and relationships are colored and conditioned by competition. Although rivalry is a potent motive for action, a recreation that emphasizes competitive athletics, for example, will find itself in the throes of gymnasts and sports. Because only those members who excel in athletics attract attention and become prominent, they set the ideals for the center, discouraging co-operation and aesthetic and intellectual leanings. On the other hand, where cultural pursuits are encouraged as well, another type of membership is also attracted and a better social balance results. Overemphasis upon competition and athletics evokes ambitions and desires in a great many people who would otherwise be inclined toward other interests. The contagion of the social climate and the natural desire to be a part of the group often outbalance real predilections and talents.[10]

In one large center, a survey was made by the questionnaire method of the recreational interests of its six thousand members. The results showed that athletics ranked first in popularity, and interclub competitive activities second. A program was instituted to meet these so-called "wants."[11] But several factors were overlooked in this survey. First, for many years the work of the center had attracted persons with athletic predilections.

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[9] For methods see *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press, 1937), pp. 168-175.

[10] See Induced and Forced Interests, p. 58.

[11] See pp. 46-47.

Second, sports had been perpetuated and glorified by being given extraordinary prominence through a system of prizes and emoluments. Third, the expressed desires of young people cannot be used as the only criterion for a program; rather, they serve as a starting point for developing one, and not as its sole content. In education, means must be found for converting primary and regressive desires and enthusiasms into more mature forms. The function of the school and leisure-time education is to widen horizons, rather than perpetuate limitations. Because of the limited opportunities that many young people have had in the past for developing more evolved types of leisure interests, organized recreational agencies have to re-educate them from the regressive to more progressive forms.

We have given much time to sports here because, in our opinion, competitive sports are among the most unsocial of our national institutions. Some years ago, a national symposium was held to discuss the topic: "Keeping a Nation Young through Sports." A more appropriate title, and a more factual one, would have been: "Keeping a Nation Infantile through Sports."[12] The ends of social education and democracy can best be served through co-operation of groups as well as through co-operation of individual members in the group. Rather than encouraging school and club groups to compete for achievement, excellence, and recognition, education would best be served by groups working for common ends. This method can be designated as *group co-activity,* as distinguished from *intergroup activity.*

GROUP CO-ACTIVITY VERSUS INTERGROUP ACTIVITY

Group co-activity is activity in which more than one group is engaged for a common purpose. Projects such as group singing, dramatics, parties, dances, lectures, trips, raising funds for charitable or other purposes, and planning benefits for school, center, or other community needs are among those that promote group co-activity. It may take the form of one group inviting one or more as guests to meetings, entertainments, or

[12] The social meaning of physical education is admirably described in a book entitled, *The New Physical Education* (New York, National Committee, Young Men's Christian Association, 1938).

other affairs. Group co-activity may also assume a much wider scope, as in the case of financing and managing all or part of the school or center program, or initiating and carrying out projects for community improvement. Group co-activity may expand into interschool or intercenter leagues, in national youth movements, and in concerted mass participation in larger social and world problems. Group co-operation may arise from a number of sources in a dynamic center or school. The democratic process for carrying out all these projects must be employed if we wish to reap full benefit from them.

In an experiment with twelve- and sixteen-year-old boys, group co-operation arose through creative music and group singing. The person in charge of this work was so much in demand by the different clubs that he centralized his work in one room, to which clubs would come for group singing. Out of this situation grew the idea, initiated by one of the groups, to invite others as guests to sing with them. Soon a dozen or more clubs were inviting one another to their clubrooms. This prepared the ground for larger enterprises initiated and carried out by the members of all the clubs. On some occasions, there were as many as three hundred and fifty boys and girls at the affairs initiated by the League Council.[13]

Our experiments in this direction convince us that, when encouraged, leagues of clubs and councils can become effective tools in co-operative democracy. Councils initiate activities and large projects that bring clubs and many individual members into co-operative, rather than competitive, relationships. In schools and centers conducted on a democratic plan, numerous opportunities arise for group co-activity, which vary with age, sex, educational background, and especially with the creative and inspiring leadership of the adults in charge. Thus the League Councils, House Councils, and other central bodies in a self-governing center can become the sources of club co-activity and a true democratic process.

As in the case of all other educative activity, it is important that group co-activity should, as far as possible, be self-motivated and self-initiated. Forced co-operation may defeat our purpose.

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[13] See pages 110 *et seq.*

There must be full-hearted participation in group life, and co-activity must result from deep-seated interests.

The Intermediate League delegates (sixteen- to nineteen-year-old boys) in one center were discussing arrangements for their entertainment and dance. Some of the delegates suggested that prizes be offered to the participating clubs. When told that the Juniors (twelve- to sixteen-year-olds) gave their famous festival, without any inducement, several of the boys exclaimed in surprise: "You mean to say that no prize was given, and they did all that?" Others asked: "Why did they do it then?" They were persuaded, however, that they too could do it. At once committees were set up to take charge of various special activities, and the project proceeded on its way. All the work, in every detail, was done by the boys themselves, including hall arrangements, audition and selection of a band, decorations (with the help of their girl friends), entertainment program (in which members of all the groups participated as club members—not as individuals), ushering, refreshments, ticket selling and collecting, and other needed functions. One adult, a part-time worker, was assigned to sit in at the meetings of the Arrangements Committee.

SPONTANEOUS CO-OPERATION

In a discussion on the subject of athletics, at a council meeting of the fourteen- to sixteen-year-old boys in another progressive center, the fact was emphasized that "sports make more enemies than friends"—an observation that some adults had made many years before. The emphasis upon prizes, cups, banners, and scores negates other efforts for developing personality and preparing it for democratic participation. A gym instructor who, in a typically authoritarian voice and manner, attempted to impress his boys with the need for competition in life expressed it thus: "Life is competition, and therefore it is necessary that you train for competition. The gym is the place for you to train for life." This point of view not only fails to train one for life, but makes children less capable of co-operative effort so necessary in a democracy. We get quite another picture from the following few occurrences in a workroom of a creative and socially motivated center:

Ernest (15) and Paul (15) worked together on pipe-cleaners sculpture for some time. Then they painted the wastepaper basket that they made for their Junior Room. Soon after, they looked for turpentine; and when they could not find it, they fetched water in a tray and hunted high and low for a rag until they found one. Then they washed the clay-covered handles of the chisels in the shop that had been wrongly used for clay modeling.

Bernard (13) was constructing for his home a combination cupboard and shelves, with a door on one of the compartments. Before he nailed the two sections together, he placed one on the top of the other to see what they looked like. Emil (12), who was working near by, exclaimed: "Oh, how nice! Isn't it lovely!" Suddenly the shelves collapsed. Emil immediately dropped his work and proceeded to help the other boy to set them up again. Bernard stopped ten minutes before closing time, turned to the others and said: "Come on, let's clear up." He proceeded to put away his tools and sweep the floor. Emil was too anxious to finish his job to join him at once, but soon did so. They spent about ten minutes after the shop was cleaned in discussing Bernard's combination cupboard and shelves. Emil asked the other many questions as to how he planned to proceed with his construction, what he would use the shelves for, where he planned to put them up, how he would attach them to the wall. They talked together for some time.

We have an excellent example of the co-operative process in creative activity in a song-writing episode. These boys had what may be described as a "multiple-activity" club. A number of activities were carried on simultaneously by individuals and small groups. Herbert was fond of writing poetry. Some other had a toy band. Soon the idea occurred to set Herbert's poems to music. The tunes were usually a product of three or four boys, though the first bars were originated by one of them. Each boy took up the melody of the other and either modified or extended it until the results were satisfactory to the entire group. Co-operation is even more pronounced in developing skits and playlets. In writing these, members constantly make suggestions as to new gags, new situations, lines, and settings. Such suggestions arouse discussion and are accepted or rejected according to the colletive judgment of the group. Thus the co-operative democratic process can make its appearance in creative work as well as in business matters and social affairs.

In a discussion of prizes and banners by another League

Council, the twelve- to sixteen-year-olds have brought out many interesting points, the final outcome of which was the elimination of all prizes and emoluments. However, before this was achieved, a violent conflict arose to save the athletic banner. It seemed that some of the boys found it easier to give up prizes and cups, but parting with the banner was difficult. All manner of parliamentary tricks were employed to retain this particular prize. It was finally eliminated, but not before some telling views were brought forward by certain of the delegates. As a result of the discussion on competition, the president of the League, a sixteen-year-old boy, issued the following statement, conceived and written entirely by himself:

> For many centuries people believed, and others were taught to believe, that life itself is a form of competition. "Survival of the fittest" has been so inculcated in the sentiments of man that he no longer reacts as to its true meaning, but just accepts it as it stands. However, the view of youth today is that the world can progress much farther by co-operation than by struggle. The idea of competition and the "victor's spoils" no longer belongs in our lives. We learned a lesson of greediness and victor's spoils sixteen years ago. We must be taught to see other opinions. It is the opinion of the League, in both social and athletic activities, that the awarding of prizes is not conducive to the best results.
>
> In concentrating on emerging a victor, an individual or team, as the case may be, forgets the original purposes of the activity, which is play and self-perfection. The purpose in sponsoring activities here . . . and at other community centers and in educational institutions is, first and foremost, self-perfection. The idea of competition has been too greatly stressed in recent years, as evidenced by the complaints of athletic coaches and similar authorities. The question of abolishing all reward for progress in an activity is a very deep and important one. It is not a question of whether we eliminate awards, but whether we are willing to accept a progressive view of the work of the Junior League.
>
> We have tried to show you our viewpoint, and now we want you to respond. Must we have material rewards to do the best we can, or can we do the same thing because we want it?

This experience had a profound influence, not only on the work of the club members, but also on the writer himself, as revealed in a letter received from him the following year. Referring to the liberalizing work of the recreation center, he said:

I have learned so much. You probably realize better than I how much you did for me. . . . As for myself, I am at —— College now, and have become very much interested in the modified "house plan" system there. I would like to become socially useful, and I am thinking very seriously of entering the field of social work as a profession. I had previously liked, or rather been attracted to, the law. What do you think of the idea?

No advice was forthcoming. Four years later, this young man came to see us. He had graduated from college at twenty, too young by a year to enter a social-work school, and without money. He hoped to somehow earn enough to pay his way through school and become a group worker. This he accomplished.

The attitude toward competition must and can be changed if leaders and directors change their emphasis. Instead of the common practice of emphasizing scores and issuing prizes, the games and sports can themselves be made the goal. If results are announced on a bulletin board, the word "winners" should be eliminated and the score recorded without any indication of winners or losers. Scores should be credited to teams, groups, and clubs, rather than to individuals. As already suggested in *Creative Group Education*,[14] groups and individuals should be scored on morale, attendance, sportsmanship, and other such factors, in addition to points made. If prizes must be given to a winning team or club, the suggestion should be made to them that they turn over the money to some social cause, such as buying cots for the nursery-school children or clothes for the poor in the neighborhood, or some similar purpose. Among the best means of setting up values and attitudes in matters of this nature are informal discussions and conferences with individual members and groups. Numerous other means will suggest themselves to the enlightened, progressively minded recreationist, who himself is motivated by larger social values. The important thing to remember is that:

. . . we must teach our pupils to learn to find satisfaction, in nobler perspective, in doing the *larger* task rather than doing some-

[14] Slavson, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

thing better than someone else. We must constantly seek the new motives, remembering that the prospector finds gold more surely when he is looking particularly for gold.[15]

[15] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

CHAPTER VI

A Demonstration of the New Recreation

AT A MEETING of the Council representing eleven clubs of boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen, there was a general air of despondency. Present were four Junior League officials and several adults—leaders of clubs and two or three staff members. All were unanimous in the conviction that the League had not functioned in the past years; it had failed either to activate the clubs' programs or create a spirit of co-operation. No worth-while activities were evolved by the League. As one boy expressed it: "All we do here is talk and talk and talk, but we never get to doing anything."

A number of those present thought that the League could not possibly be made to function, and the president, a serious-minded youngster of fifteen, felt that it ought to be abolished.

A month's observation of club meetings, other activities in the center, and informal conversations with staff and club members made it apparent that the center suffered from a dearth of occupations that would challenge the young people. It was also apparent that the League Council and club meetings were "talkie" meetings, as the boys described them, because the setting for action was lacking. To remedy this situation, two members were added to the staff. One was placed in charge of the shop, and another undertook to stimulate musical and dramatic expression through visits at club meetings and by participating in the various League Councils.

Next, a survey was made as to the contributions that different members of the staff could give to a program. There were on the staff persons of culture, with varied talents and wide educational backgrounds. However, not one had been drawn into the activities in the building beyond his specific job, which was more or less administrative. Consulting a staff before an educational program is initiated creates unity and enthusiasm, helps define functional areas, and establishes inter-

functional relations that give coherence to a plan and assures its success. It is essential to the effectiveness of any group effort and has the added value of giving staff members the feeling that they are accepted, that they have status and are important. The staff and the person in charge of the program have, in many respects, a relation similar to the parent-child relation. They in turn establish like relations with the members. The most effective way of teaching a method, an attitude, or a desirable relation is by demonstrating it. Consultation and group action manifest the friendly and democratic culture. Events in this and similar experiments have amply confirmed this general thesis.

As a first step in the plan of involving the staff in developing a program of activities was a dinner meeting, at which were present the executive secretary, the building superintendent, the membership secretary, the educational consultant (who initiated the program), six of the oldest and most active club leaders, and the directors of activities (gym, swimming, shop, art, library, music, dramatics, Boy Scouts, and religious activities). After a jovial dinner hour, the meeting was opened by the director of activities. He stated that this was the first time a meeting of this nature had ever been held, and that it was part of an effort to expand the program. He urged all to cooperate in every way possible and asked the consultant to conduct the meeting. The latter outlined, in a general way, the possibilities for changes in the activities and in staff and member relations. He also reported on the suggestions that were made by the boys and young men at the meetings of the different Councils. The purpose of this meeting, he said, was to discuss how the club leaders and the various activities' specialists could help carry out their plans, and how leaders and specialists could co-ordinate their efforts for the good of all. He pointed out that such work can be accomplished only by continued cooperation of the adults, though most of the work will be carried out by the boys and the young men themselves, and asked those present to express their views freely with regard to the problems and plans suggested.

The gymnasium instructor said that his aim now was to reach the entire membership, rather than work with "teams"

alone. Through mass games and rotation at play, he planned to draw in all the members, so that when boys leave the gym they will not say: "All I got out of it is wearing a suit. The team members got all the fun and exercise." It was suggested that, at some future time, at least a part of one of the meetings of the group could be devoted to a discussion of the gym program.

The director of the music school stated that he was not prepared at the moment to make concrete suggestions as to just how his department could be co-ordinated with the club program or meet the needs of the total membership, but he assured the gathering that he and his staff stood ready to do what they could.

The librarian reported that the study room in the library was used very little, and that the books and magazines should be moved to a room set apart for the younger members, which would be in charge of the Councils. She offered to help in establishing such a library and to train boys in library practice.

The Boy Scout director spoke of his having tried unsuccessfully for two years to organize a parents' group of the Boy Scouts. This year, he was employing a new approach—"the pleasurable experience" approach, instead of the "straight educational." A small group of parents were now co-operating with him on a plan to have educators and child psychologists meet with the parents; but the main attraction would be the social hours, at which parents would meet socially and refreshments would be served. It was hoped that these social hours would be forerunners of a parents' organization. Other devices to be employed were Father and Son meetings and events, Mothers' Nights, and a Parents' Committee.

The new shop director presented an outline of his arts-and-crafts shop projects and explained how they could be co-ordinated with the club work. He urged the leaders to refer to him individual boys who might have an interest in arts and crafts, and clubs that planned activities involving handicrafts of any kind. He said that there would be immediate opportunities to work with wood, metal, clay, plasticine, paints, and wire sculpture, and that other types of crafts would be introduced later.

The membership director complained that the overwhelming majority of house members just paid dues, but did not even take advantage of the gymnasium. He felt that the setup suggested would unquestionably appeal to many such members and would bring them into active participation. Since all efforts on the part of the Membership Department to interest these indifferent members had failed, it would be worth having the boys themselves evolve a plan of their own, to see if it would have more meaning for them.

A leader told of a club, whose members had never before been able to find anything that really interested them, had now seemingly become stimulated by the shop. Another leader reported on a boy, a stutterer, who in eight months' membership had participated in none of the activities, not even the gym, but now was an enthusiastic member of the dramatic group. Still another leader suggested that something be done about speech correction; this was tabled for discussion at a future meeting. It was already evident, another stated, that the wider the appeal and the greater the variety of interests offered, the larger would be the number of participating members. At this point a committee was chosen to study the problem of inactive and non-affiliated members.

The art specialist had no definite suggestions before he met with the boys and adult members, which so far he had had no oportunity to do, although a meeting was already being planned by the members themselves. He suggested, however, that art exhibits be held every two or three months and that trips to museums would be useful. He volunteered to conduct such trips. One of the club leaders, a specialist in nature lore, volunteered to conduct nature trips and star-gazing hikes. Another offered to tell stories to the younger boys.

At the following staff meeting, the shop director reported that the shop was filled to overflowing. At times there were as many as twenty-four working in the room, which could accommodate no more than ten or twelve boys comfortably. He narrated the incident of a boy who was not permitted to work in the shop the preceding Friday because he was not a member of the house. He joined up Monday and returned to work Tuesday. There was a need for scheduling the boys to prevent con-

gestion. Some favored organizing groups with definite meeting time and definite activities, such as carpentry, art, and metalwork. It was pointed out that such an arrangement would defeat the intentions of the program. It would develop into a series of "hobby clubs," rather than provide for spontaneous and creative expression.

One of the club leaders reported that the new approach worked well with his club. The boys now came to the building at times other than club meetings, which had never happened before. The dramatic director said that, though the project was new, he already had three distinct groups. One was working on the production of a play; another was hunting for a play; and a third was interested in staging plays. He planned to help the boys produce and direct their own plays, with as little adult assistance as possible. This would make dramatics really creative. He also recommended puppets and marionettes, and the writing of original plays. The need for speech correction was again emphasized. He mentioned a number of sound and silent movies that he thought would be appropriate for Juniors. The director of activities consented to procure these and asked for a list of cinemas suitable for young people and boys.

A plan for introducing dramatics in each club's program, and for group and mass singing, was then presented. Music and dramatics were to be made available at points where they naturally fit into the program, and are not imposed. Dramatics would consist, not only of play producing, but of play writing, making puppets and marionettes, shadow plays, cut-out silhouettes, skits, storytelling, mime plays, poetry reading, and other creative activities. There would be no formal instruction in music (except in the music school). Spontaneous singing, combining plays with music, music appreciation, playing before clubs, arranging simple concerts for rallies, and small singing groups, would form this part of the program. Leaders, the director said, must activate groups to initiate activities, rather than rely upon specialists to do it.

A survey as to what would interest the members was carried on informally through the various Leagues and Councils, club leaders, and in conversations with individual members by the educational consultant and one or two of his staff. Finally, the

staff called the Executive Committee of the almost defunct Council to discuss plans. The boys suggested that a "mass meeting" of all members of each age group be called (whether they were club members or not) to discuss and vote upon a program for the year's work. A subcommittee of the executive group was appointed, with the League's "social chairman" as presiding officer, to which two members of the staff were added. This committee was charged with the responsibility for formulating plans and calling the mass meeting, the program of which follows:

PROGRAM FOR JUNIOR RALLY

1. Presentation of Officers by (Director of Activities).
2. Presentation of Banners for 19—.
3. Address by (Chairman of the Board).
4. Presentation of "Cultural Program" by (Social Chairman):
   a. Short discussion by group.
   b. Vote by group.
5. Singing by Entire Group.
6. Question of Trips by (President of the Council).
7. Presentation of Athletic Program by (Athletic Chairman):
   a. Discussion by group.
   b. Vote by group.
8. Collect Upper Ballot.
9. Organization of Volunteer Committees to take charge of the different activities:
   a. Fill out slips.
   b. Collect slips.
10. Good and Welfare (If Necessary).
11. Announcements by President of the League.

Under item 9, the following question was asked:

Would you volunteer to join any of the following committees to help the League carry out the above program? Check the committee on which you would like to serve:

( ) Library Squad.
( ) Literary Yearbook Staff.
( ) Monthly Paper Staff.
( ) Junior Room Squad.
( ) Visits and Trips.
( ) Committee on Exhibits.

If you are not now a club member, would you be interested in becoming one?

There was also a referendum ballot on the question: "Do you favor the new athletic program?" This referred to item 7 on the program. A mimeographed registration blank was distributed at the meeting, on which members could indicate their choice from among thirteen groups of activities that they may have wished to join.

On the same blank, the following question also appeared: "Have you any additional suggestions? (If necessary to answer this question, use other side of sheet.)" Provision was made for the name and address of the respondent.

The following account of the rally appeared in the weekly published at the center:

Junior League Members Place Hearty Approval on New Deal at Rally

The mania for reform has hit the Junior. Not to be outdone by the rest of the country, he too desires a "New Deal." And if his expectations are to be realized he will receive his desire, for the Junior Rally held last Sunday was an enthusiastic beginning.

With the new League president, H. K., in command, the new administration proposed a versatile and varied program of activities. Lending a hand to the League's head are I. G. of the Marathon Club, the League's vice-president and treasurer; D. L. of the Falcons, secretary; H. B. of the Hugo Club, social chairman; J. H. of the Boy Scouts, athletic chairman; and M. S., delegate-at-large.

The president of the Board was a guest at the Rally, who urged the Juniors to carry on their New Deal and appealed to the audience to make use of their most healthy attribute—a strong curiosity during the ensuing year.

In a statement, President H. K. enthusiastically foresaw the successful completion of the program. "After the splendid spirit of co-operation at the Rally, I feel assured that the program will mark a New Deal and all concerned will profit," was the optimistic outlook of the League's president.

The proposed New Deal program included a special room for Juniors, which received the hearty support of the assemblage, with trips to various industrial plants and excursions to places of cultural interest running second and third, respectively, in the closed balloting held at the gathering.

The elaborate program does not stop here, however. A literary yearbook, a monthly paper, hobby exhibits, dramatic and oratorical

tourneys, are planned to cultivate the interest of the Junior in wide and varied fields of social endeavor.

A suggestion was also tendered to the League for the creation of a Junior Photography Club, to serve as an outlet for those League members who are pictorially inclined.

The League plans, in regard to the Social Room, to utilize Room 262 for the purpose. Within the walls of this chamber the skilled Junior members will arrange and equip the premises with decorations designed and made in the workshop.

Mr. J. K., club leader, led the assemblage in several songs. And by way of conclusion A. T., another leader, flung caution to the winds and told a joke that, as far as can be learned at the time of going to press, fell as flat as the proverbial pancake.

The activity program offered by the League for the boys, and the "outline" for staff and leaders dealing with the program that grew out of the mass meeting and staff discussions, were very warmly received. They at once created a stir in the center, and much unexpected activity on the part of clubs suddenly sprang up. This was made apparent in many ways. The League, for example, set up a machinery for carrying out its program: Club Contact Committee, Yearbook Committee, Financial Committee, Social and Cultural Committee, Special Room Committee, and so on. The animation of the members was greatly increased, and a great deal of voluntary work was done by individual members and by committees on announcements, posters, furniture making, decorations, and preparations for festivals.

The program was evaluated at three bi-monthly intervals, and we take some facts from the rather lengthy periodic summaries, which showed steady progress. A number of the clubs gave parties and invited other clubs as guests, at which boys told stories, played games, dramatized songs, and served refreshments. One group gave a shadow play in their room on an improvised stage made of two screens, a table, and a tablecloth. All the work, including the electrical equipment, was done by the club members themselves. Others sponsored moving pictures and gave plays for which they wrote the dialogue. A book of original poetry was contributed by one of the groups, and a toy orchestra was made available to all by another group.

At the Winter Festival, seven clubs built as many booths,

which they decorated and for which they did the electrical wiring. One of the booths contained articles made for sale exclusively by the boys. In another, refreshments brought from homes and sold to members and guests greatly enhanced the League's treasury. One booth held art exhibits, while others were devoted to feats of strength and skill. All proceeds were turned over to the Council for furthering its projects. The entertainment included plays, skits, shadowgram stunts, singing, and social dancing. The toy orchestra performed. Everyone of the clubs contributed to such evenings. One of these "mass entertainments" was attended by eighty parents of the boys and many girls. A number of mass meetings were held to discuss plans and other business.

The content of the club discussions had also undergone a considerable change. These were now centered around everyday problems of the boys as members of a larger community, rather than abstract subjects with which they had little acquaintance. The discussions became more meaningful because they had contact with reality. In the past, many of them had led to involved argumentation on advanced topics requiring information that the boys did not possess. Poetry reading, scrapbooks, trips, and music, as well as outside speakers, had been added to the program of the clubs. An all-day Hobby and Arts and Crafts Exhibit, held under the sponsorship of the League, proved very successful. The objects displayed included furniture, copper- and German silverwork, model airplanes, leatherwork, linoleum blockprints, woodcarvings, wire sculpture, colored paper designs, and scrapbooks dealing with athletics, science, poetry, and current news. One hundred and twenty youngsters and about sixty parents visited the exhibit.

During the Christmas holidays, the League Council, at the suggestion of a staff member, arranged all-day programs for five days of that week. One day was Field Day at the Palisades, with games, winter nature hikes, outdoor refreshments, campfire singing, stunts, and other outdoor activities. The following day's program consisted of motion-picture shorts, including comedy, science, travel, and sports. Tours to several museums for different groups made up the program for the third day; and the fourth day was devoted to visits to a bottling factory,

a newspaper plant, and a transatlantic steamer. The last day was given over to an organ recital and an entertainment program by members of the League.

A similar program was arranged by the League for the Easter vacation, this time without any suggestions from adults. It differed in some respects from the Christmas week activities, especially in that the staff had nothing to do with the planning and but little with the actual putting into operation of the plans. Because of the spring weather, only two days were utilized for the program. On one of these, six trips were arranged, as follows:

1. Visit to a welfare institution.
2. Visit to the zoo, with a nature walk.
3. Visit to the Museum of American Art, with a walk through near-by Greenwich Village.
4. Visit to the Museum of Natural History, with a walk along near-by Riverside Drive.
5. Visit to the telephone exchange, with a walk through near-by Central Park.
6. Visit to a newspaper plant, the Museum of Science and Industry, and movies in the Museum's auditorium—all in one building.

The program for the second day was:

10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.—free play in the gymnasium, exhibition, sports, games, and swimming.
1:00 P.M. to 2:30 P.M.—communal luncheon.
2:30 P.M. to 3:30 P.M.—movies, "everybody singing," free play in game rooms, stunts, skits, ping-pong, and other games.

Over two hundred boys attended the communal luncheon in the building's cafeteria. The response to this novel attraction, conceived and carried out by the boys, is an indication of real interest. One committee planned the luncheon, another group served, while still another set and cleaned the tables. All facilities were open to the members, including the three gyms in the building; and there was track running, work on apparatus, and free play. The pool resembled a bathing beach more than an indoor swimming period. There were no contests, no organized events—just happy, joyful boys at play. The day was not only enjoyable but an excellent social and group expe-

rience. The boys worked together, played together, contributed to the enterprise in many ways, and took complete charge.

The Spring Festival arranged later in the season was attended by several hundred boys, girls, and their parents, and was as successful as the Winter Festival. Indications of growth were the members' increased ability to plan entirely by themselves; their resourcefulness and responsibility with money, and in the care of the building and its facilities. Here too the entertainment was furnished by the different clubs.

Activities were not limited to those described, however, for the League raised money for relief through the clubs and from its own treasury. Committees visited social-work agencies and discussed school and education, sports and competition. These discussions and projects were not limited by the microculture of the recreational center, but related to the larger world.

One of the important by-products of this program was the emergence of leadership. A number of League delegates, shy and insecure in the earlier part of the year, came forward in the role of leaders. The various tasks they volunteered to do or that were assigned to them gave them a sense of confidence as well as a desire to participate in groups. The shop director reported changes in many of the boys who worked with arts and crafts on a free, creative basis. Several of the older boys undertook to help in the shop as Junior leaders; and one of the members of the League Council organized a group of small boys in his neighborhood and introduced, what he called, an "activity program." He and three of his friends who helped him with the project were in frequent consultation with the staff at the center regarding program and procedures.

A final evaluation of the program reveals that it stimulated wholehearted activity, creative expression, a co-operative feeling, and a growing concern in world problems. A large number of the members discovered permanent avocational interests, and some have been helped to choose professions. Perhaps some indication of the value of this method can be gleaned from the numerical growth of membership in this age division. The number of clubs increased from eleven to seventeen in one winter, and the roster of two hundred and fifty club and house members in October rose to four hundred and fifteen by April.

One group of twelve particularly difficult boys was organized as an "adjustment" club. Five of these boys were under psychiatric treatment in the clinic of a social-service agency. They were, however, considered a regular group, and no distinction was made between them and the other clubs. The leader in charge of this group, a trained psychiatric caseworker, thought the boys gained greatly from the social experience. Although they did not participate in the affairs of the League as consistently as some of the other groups, they were by far the most creative and resourceful. This group produced most of the original songs, supplied a toy orchestra for the affairs, and made many of the artistic objects put up for sale at the festivals.[1]

The same type of activities in the Intermediate Division, sixteen- to eighteen-year-old boys, developed as a result of a conflict situation that had arisen among the representatives of the Intermediate League. The last meeting broke up amidst violent argumentation, and emotions ran high. They were convinced that it was impossible to continue the League or any interclub activities. The staff member in charge of this particular section, too, saw no possibility to continue. It was suggested to him that, instead of confining meetings to discussions, a project of activities might be more effective in bringing the boys together, if they were given the opportunity to rally around some constructive purpose. Four members of the staff who were most acquainted with the situation met and, upon the suggestion of the educational consultant, developed the idea of an historical pageant. When the boys met again, definite situations were outlined and specific suggestions given. This arbitrary step was deemed necessary at first because of the disunity and disruption in the group.

The League's Executive Committee, to which this plan was submitted, rejected it on the grounds that the state of the League and the morale of the individual clubs were such that any project was doomed to failure. An entertainment and dance, it believed, would be more appropriate. The proposed pageant would be suitable after the Council was rebuilt in a

[1] This group was the forerunner of what later came to be known as "group therapy."

year or so. The Council, in its opinion, had to re-establish itself first with the clubs and members, and prove itself capable of leadership. The boys were encouraged to proceed with their own plans and in their own way, but a member of the staff was asked to work with them.

The decision was approved by the re-formed League Council, consisting of representatives officially elected by the clubs. The plans were pushed ahead by the special Council meeting held a week later, at the suggestion of the staff members. At this meeting, officers of the League were elected and a very dynamic, though not altogether tactful, president was chosen. The Council took over the entire management of activities, even asking the one staff adviser to confine himself to the actual producing and co-ordination of the program it had planned. The Council members took over responsibility for visiting individual clubs, getting data on the contributions from the various clubs, selling tickets, collecting money, holding auditions for the dance band, and all other details. The following Sunday, the various committees were seen very busily engaged in numbering and distributing tickets, and keeping accounts. They worked with genuine interest, concentration, and a sense of responsibility that was indeed a great contrast to the disorganization of several weeks before.

At one of the meetings, the following plan of work was developed by the League Council:

1. The appointment of a Publicity Committee, which would visit clubs and speak to them of the various projects arranged by the League. This committee would also issue a semi-monthly bulletin, outlining the various activities planned.

2. The suggestion was made that club co-activity be pushed among the clubs. The idea came from the boys themselves, and not from the staff. (They had the Junior League as a model for this.) A few of the club representatives proceeded, after the meeting, to invite other clubs to meet with them for lectures, hikes, and so on. The president suggested that a committee be elected to promote this idea among the clubs.

(After the meeting, a staff member explained to the president in an informal and unplanned conversation, at which several of the delegates were also present, that such co-operation among the clubs must be a slow and gradual outgrowth from a feeling created by the League and its leaders, rather than forced or organized. A real

and sincere feeling of co-operation does not come from the top; it must grow from within. And it will come when the League itself sets an example of co-operation. All the boys who participated in this conversation agreed to this.)

3. It was decided that no prizes were to be given in any of the athletic tournaments of the League. This, too, came from the members of the Council themselves and not from any adult (and was borrowed from the Junior League.)

4. A staff member suggested (but not before consulting with the president) that the Council supply a list of speakers and discussion leaders for clubs that might desire them. This was approved by the League Council.

5. The president of the League suggested to arrange a scrapbook exhibit. He mentioned the Amicas Club, which based a large part of the year's program on the scrapbooks kept by individual members. He said: "You would be surprised when bringing up the question how many boys suddenly pull out these scrapbooks. They are really interesting and worth while."

6. Co-operative enterprises with the Intermediate League of a near-by center for the purpose of sharing programs and affairs, such as joint parties, debates, discussions, and outings, were suggested.

The following is an excerpt from the notes kept by the staff adviser:

The committee was anxious to get the entire program started at once. Remembering their difficulties in the past, I tried to explain that it would be dangerous at this time, when the League was in such a precarious position, to burden the clubs with too many things at once. I suggested that they concentrate all their attention on making the dance a success from every point of view, and then proceed to other projects. They acquiesced, but thought that for the remainder of the visits they should like to work independently of me. They realized that it was bad to have too many people breaking in on a club meeting, but they thought that if they handled the business portion of the forthcoming affair and I the entertainment, things would move in a more direct and thorough manner. I agreed, and the policy was strictly adhered to. I made my visits to clubs alone and spoke only of the entertainment. The committee, however, met with me quite often to report progress and to ask advice concerning details as they came up. For my part, I kept them in close touch with the responses I had gotten from the various clubs to the entertainment.

These decisions were made by a new Council consisting of members elected by the clubs. The new Council started at

the very outset with a self-initiated program. It was noted that the older boys required far fewer suggestions and less help than did the Juniors, fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds. In fact, they tended to set up more projects than they could possibly consummate in the short time they had at their disposal. Plans for the entertainment and dance that had been inherited from the old Council, which failed because of lack of co-operation, were successfully carried through. The entertainment consisted of original shorts skits, reviews, and stunts, rather than a ready-written play. Further plans included joint meetings of clubs, debates, outings, discussions, parties with girls, and community projects.

To improve the cultural work of the clubs, the new Council had undertaken to supply outside discussion leaders and lecturers for their meetings. A Publicity Bureau was established to promote the work, both through visits to clubs and through a mimeographed publication. All prizes, including athletic banners, were eliminated. The program flourished throughout the remainder of the year, and much constructive work was accomplished.

The pattern of active participation and initiative that characterized the work of younger members in the center spread automatically to the older boys. They, too, had changed their practices along many lines. The players' group, for example, planned originally to produce plays by other authors, now began to write plays of its own. Instead of engaging professionals to make the costumes and scenery, as it always had in the past, it formed committees to do this work themselves. Two evenings a week, in addition to regular rehearsals, were given over to stage construction and costuming, in which young women participated on an equal basis.

A comparison of this program and that of the younger boys' brings out several facts:

1. There was definite difference in the activities between the two. The older boys were more group-conscious. They wanted co-education; they were more aware of social problems; and their ideas broader and more inclusive.
2. The older boys had more initiative, greater power to

plan and carry out plans, and were more independent of adults than were the younger boys.

3. The older group responded with less eagerness to the cultural aspects of the program, and more interest was displayed in entertainments in which girls were included.

In another recreation center, the Council carried a large part of the responsibility and administered many of the details. The Council consisted of elected representatives from the various age groups: Juniors, Upper Juniors, Intermediates, Upper Intermediates, Seniors, adults, staff, and Board. All matters that affected the center as a whole—not individual club programs—were referred to the Council for approval. Staff members who were present at Council meetings participated in the discussions on an equal basis with other members. They represented the point of view of administration and explained how decisions would react upon the working of the total settlement. Frequently, the Council's decisions were contrary to staff views, but were carried out according to the decision of the majority.

Many problems that came to the director's attention were referred for action by the Council. For example, when the Federal Housing Project was inaugurated by some public-minded citizens to serve the highly congested and antiquated neighborhood, the director, instead of replying himself to a request to participate in this movement, referred the matter to the Council, which in turn referred it to the Senior League, a group of representatives of clubs and activity groups comprised of men and women of twenty years and over.

Under the guidance of the director, the Senior League appointed a committee of its own members, which co-operated with representatives of other civic groups. A number of public rallies were held by the neighborhood committee. Representations were made to municipal authorities and the Federal Government demanding improvements in neighborhood housing conditions. The activities of the League's committee were reported regularly to the Council, and its actions were discussed, approved, or disapproved, and suggestions for further action given. Members of the staff felt that this was an

opportunity to develop community interest over wider spheres and a practical lesson in democracy.

At one of the meetings of the Housing Committee, the director spoke of the Cellar Clubs, of which there were several hundred in the neighborhood. At the moment, the Police Department was making much ado about these clubs, and newspapers carried stories daily about them. The director's reference was well-timed, and the response was of definite interest. It was suggested, however, that the subject be referred to the Senior League, since this particular committee had been elected for a specific purpose. The Senior League felt that something ought to be done about it and consulted the Council, requesting authorization to act in this matter as well. After a discussion of the problem, the Senior League was delegated to act for the center. It elected a large committee, who visited the Police Department to get information on the location of these clubs and their effect on the neighborhood, and also made inquiries as to how the center could help. After months of investigation by both the League and the Council, during which the item was carried on the agenda, it was decided to expand the League committee and make of it a neighborhood-wide project.

The committee then called a conference of settlement groups in the neighborhood, political party locals, the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department, and social-service agencies. An objective investigation was made of the Cellar Clubs and the reports discussed at the meeting of this larger body. Some members were opposed to having representatives of the Police Department, whose policy was one of suppression against all Cellar Clubs, but were finally persuaded to include them. Members of the original committee took a leading role in the proceedings and held out for an educational program for these clubs. They, and some of the social workers, felt that the clubs should be given status and approached, not with an attitude of disapproval and censure, but one of acceptance and help, in order to provide them with facilities for programs and activities. Some of the members of the original committee visited Cellar Clubs in their neighborhood, and met with their leaders to think through their problems and find ways of solving

them. One of the outcomes was an Employment Bureau for Cellar Club members, since joblessness was found to be one of the main difficulties.

Some time later it was called to the Council's attention that many neighborhood children were not getting enough milk. As a result, the Council, through a committee, provided for free milk distribution in the neighborhood. Not only did the Council raise the money, but a number of its members volunteered to help distribute it, since the center was understaffed even without such additional duties.

As they became more and more aware of the needs of the neighborhood, staff members brought to the attention of older members, in informal conversations, the basic social problems that produce depressions and such extreme poverty as we were witnessing in America and elsewhere at that time. Was it necessary for a nation in the grips of such poverty to dump food into the ocean and otherwise destroy it in order to maintain prices and assure a level of profit to businessmen and banks? Was it right for a nation to keep millions at the point of starvation and many more undernourished, when, according to available information, there was plenty for all? Newspapers, magazines, and books were replete at the time with discussions of these problems, and our members were acquainted with them as matters of common and widespread concern. All that was necessary was to help the young people articulate the information that lay dormant and inactive in their minds. In a surprisingly short time, study groups sprang up, and small group discussions were to be heard everywhere in the building. Even the younger boys and girls became concerned with these and allied problems. The effects of politics on the economic structure naturally came to their attention, and interest turned to the current elections. Several mass meetings were arranged for house members of all ages, to which residents of the neighborhood were invited, and local candidates of the different political parties presented their views and policies. Questions and discussion by members of the audience were both lively and enlightening.

One of the valuable features of these activities was that they were not confined to members of the house. The three associations of fathers and mothers in the center were invited

to join with the Council committee on the housing project, and later other groups of the neighborhood were drawn in as well. This policy was carried out in all other undertakings dealing with the community. Many neighbors came to meetings and freely participated in discussions, on active committees, and in collecting signatures for the different petitions. They were included in the delegations to the City Council and went to the State Capitol in a special train to press for favorable laws on the legislature. By these and other means, a program of adequate adult recreation energized the citizens and created an articulate community.

Virgil Dahl suggests the following three objectives toward which an adult recreation program might be pointed:[2]

1. To give the individual an added interest in life through opportunity for self-expression, self-improvement and development.
2. To help the individual adjust himself to his environment and group.
3. To place in the community well-balanced individuals capable of sharing group responsibility.

These three criteria summarize many implications of the meaning and services of a vitalized recreation to the community and to the individual. It must not be assumed that *adult* recreation consists of nothing but social reform and world betterment. What is implied in recreation for mature people is that it cannot consist only of play, sports, physical exercise, or escape activities. These have their place and are important, but in a democracy an adult's interest must be pointed toward the world in which he lives. Not only is this his responsibility, but also his appropriate field of activity, in accordance with his state of maturity. The little child plays with a sand pile, the older with a gun. An adult's free-time occupations center around the world, but not to the exclusion of other satisfactions.

In the center upon which we reported, community improvement was a major but not the sole interest. Both the adults and the young people continued to attend the gym and enjoy handball, basketball, and other sports. The Council continued

[2] Dahl, Virgil, *Community Reports—Current Problems in Recreation* (New York, New York University, 1939), mimeographed.

to arrange picnics and winter outings at the center's summer camp. Seniors went winter camping together, and the Old-timers who had met for twenty years and more held reunions. Many of the older members, some of whom rose to positions of influence and had their own social and professional affiliations outside of the House, maintained contact and membership long after they actually needed its services.

When a hobby exhibit was arranged by the senior groups and The Old-timers, it was discovered that interest in working with tools in wood, metal, and silver still persisted. Some made jewelry, others collected stamps, and still others had pet animals. In short, the fact that improving the community was a major interest did not drown out everything else. It did not produce lop-sided, starry-eyed social reformers. Those who were of enthusiastic temperaments continued to be so in their new activities. Others who were normally subjective and withdrawn were not attracted by mass movements, but worked unobtrusively with the various councils of younger boys and girls, giving their evenings in service to the center, often staying late into the night to keep accounts and devise ways for making ends meet. Others worked on the many committees that made up the center community and led clubs, for nearly all club leaders were recruited from former club members in the center.

The discerning reader will recognize in the sampling of the different types of programs briefly given in this chapter the application of nearly all the principles of physical, mental, and social health suggested in preceding chapters. He will recognize that the principles of individual autonomy and personal choice were paramount considerations, but at the same time situations were set or evolved that aroused social interests and guided members to group adjustment. Where boys and girls, young men and women, and even adults found it difficult to adapt themselves, milder cases received individual guidance from a qualified staff member, while the more serious ones were referred to proper community agencies for study and treatment. If total health means the totality of adaptive capacities of the individual—namely, a healthy well-functioning body, wholesome emotional responses, inner poise and ease in relationships

with people—programs such as we described should help to establish total health. Here were almost endless opportunities for self-expression in as many fields as could be reasonably expected in a city setting. But there was more. Not only was self-expression possible, but the experiences conditioned the "self."

It is often wrongly assumed that self-expression is the *sine qua non* of education. This is true only if we keep in mind that the supreme value of self-expression lies in its improvement of the self. When self-expression aids progressive development of the personality, it is important; but when self-expression is regressive and stays so, it no longer holds value. As already stated or implied, regressive activity helps development if it is a temporary phase. The clearing of unconscious repressed trends (emotional catharsis) should help progressive growth; but when these trends become fixed, appropriate steps must be taken to counteract them.

In the programs outlined, one observes progressive growth and evolvement from simple diversions to more complex occupations, from individual to group and social interests. We can also recognize the widening fields of adaptive behavior on the part of individuals and of groups. It is quite apparent that experience and reality are the operational features, and not regressive and escapist ideation. Reality itself is expanding here, and new avenues toward it are constantly being opened. From shop and art and scrapbook, the youngsters move to social services and community problems. A dance and entertainment is the beginning for intellectual studies, and immediate difficulties lead to community improvement and a philosophy of life. This evolutionary progression is the very soul of education and an inviolate condition for mental health.

Another major contribution of such programs to individual development is the fact that every boy and girl, youth and adult, including the staff, is made to feel that he belongs, that he is accepted and considered worthy and important, that he amounts to something. A group culture (microculture) is generated, imperceptibly perhaps, in which each one's self-esteem is raised. It is a permissive, friendly world. The need to be accepted and respected, which can be termed *social hun-*

ger, is paramount to all human needs, and a relationship in which it is satisfied contributes to total health.

Orderly development of human personality follows, by and large, the phases described in Chapter III. As one follows the development of the program under consideration, one is impressed with the sequence in the evolution of the activities. From manual interests in shops and craft rooms arise group participating projects and evocative activities. Social preoccupations and community interests make their appearance later. There are also phases in the program when boy-girl interests have their appropriate places at parties, entertainments, and dramatics. The fact that these types of activities have evolved spontaneously, confirms the development sequence indicated and supports the contention that a free and varied program helps the growth of a well-rounded, healthy personality.

Another element that comes to attention, as one examines the program of the two groups of boys briefly sketched here, is that unconscious motivations and cathartic activity have had fairly full play. Some of the shadow plays, for example, reflected much of the aggressions of the members. There was much fighting and some killings in them. At least two of the booths at the large affair described were devoted to destructive and aggressive attack against objects and effigies. Art work, shop activities, gym and sports, games of rivalry, discussions and disagreements—all served as outlets of the unconscious drives, as indicated in Chapter II.

Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the practices followed here is the training for and practice in democracy. For, if anything, these programs were democratically conceived and carried out. But democracy does not arise spontaneously, as do anarchy and disorder. Democratic self and group control have to be carefully, and perhaps subtly devised, so that through experience young people can make them their own. The democratic frame of reference evolves through relationships with democratic adults and the practice of genuine democracy, in which freedom, status, participation, and responsibility are part of living, as they are in the practice of the new recreation.

CHAPTER VII

Constants, Variables, and Differentials

BOTH DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUALIZATION imply flexibility. To attain the essence and truth in any system of thought or endeavor, it is necessary to avoid rigidity and finality. Perhaps the most difficult and baffling element in man's struggle toward truth is the fact that the road is not straight, narrow, and clear, to be followed easily and surely. There are roads, rather than *a* road, to truth. What is true for one person or in one situation may be quite untrue as the person or circumstance changes. Truth seems to be modified to suit varying elements. The total picture in its mutiphase has to be considered. But though one must always be aware that emotional attitudes invariably affect our thinking, some degree of clarity can be achieved through the intellectual understanding of a problem. In order to establish a foundation for an enlightened recreation, it is essential that we keep these principles in mind and consider some of its constants, variables, and differentials, of which there are many.

CONSTANTS

By "constants" is meant the cravings and needs inherent in man as a species and present in almost everyone. Such a universal constant, for example, is the need for muscular activity and physical exertion.

Need for Security and Growth. Since it is not possible, in a book such as this, to treat this subject as fully as one would desire, only a few of the major needs of the normal personality will be briefly stated. Constants can be grouped under two headings: the needs for security, and the needs for growth. Under the needs for security are the cravings for love, acceptance, personal autonomy, status, and recognition. The needs for growth involve physical activity, aggression, play, mastery, pursuit, exploration, curiosity, the drive to be the cause, and

the creative urge.[1] The needs for growth include also the social cravings that manifest themselves in identification, the collective tendency, and the communication drive.[2]

The many ways in which recreation that addresses itself to the total personality meets these various needs have already been described. Free as well as intelligently guided recreation makes its appeal to the physical and other organic urges that, when satisfied, strengthen and develop the individual. When recreation takes place in a group setting and is socially motivated, the cravings for status and acceptance are fulfilled. In a similar manner do also the social urges and collective tendency find gratification. This total appeal to the universal individual needs of man in any culture gives recreation the special significance that it potentially has in building and perpetuating that culture.

National Characteristics. Although there are many variations necessary in meeting the needs of different cultures, neighborhoods, and communities, and although there are striking differences in rural and urban needs, each nation has a characteristic pattern that differentiates it from any other country. One need only cross the border to a neighboring Latin American country to become aware of a striking difference in appearance, mannerisms, quality of thought, and attitudes of its people. These contrasts and variations are also reflected in the types of play and recreational patterns. Although many of the diversions and games stem from universal organic sources, unconscious drives, and suppressed impulses and aggression, the forms of making them manifest—that is, the games and sports—are different.

A case in point are prizefights and wrestling in America. The same basic impulses are expressed in other countries by bull- and cockfights. Horse racing in America is supplemented and substituted by dog and frog races in other countries. Emphasis on muscle, aesthetic, or social forms of recreation also differs. Preferences as to types of dances and songs are far from being uniform as one travels from one country to another. The

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Slavson, S. R., *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York, Association Press, 1939).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-114.

degree of participation, spontaneity, and freedom of expression is a direct outcome of economic conditions, governmental control, and patterns and tradition of a nation. The influence of the Church upon free-time occupations, for example, is more evidenced in some countries than in others, and even in sections of the same country.

It must not be assumed, however, that there is an inherent "racial" or national difference in people which, organically or psychologically, begets a recreational pattern. The difference is rather an outcome of the geographic, economic, and cultural conditions under which a people live. As nations increased their contact and communication with one another, they have also adopted one another's recreations. The Rhumba and Tango are now part and parcel of the life in the United States; and Mah Jong, an importation from China, was popular here. Hockey, soccer, and tennis are now as widespread here as they are in England. Baseball and basketball, jazz and movies, indigenous to the United States, have spread throughout the world in varying degrees. Even our popular indoor sport, lectures, was invading Europe before the war!

We have seen that many of the elements in recreation vary for different reasons, since individuals, groups, and neighborhoods are seldom, if ever, precisely the same or have the same requirements. We have also indicated the variables in background, habits, and patterns of life and play in the populations of a given neighborhood in a large city. But it must be kept in mind that the contrasts are not so sharp among children and young people who have gone to the same schools and have been exposed to similar cultural influences as among the older folk with different backgrounds.

Provision has to be made to meet differences, but it is also essential for a democratic and articulate community that the different groups in it come together at as many points as possible. Reforms and improvements, politics, and similar community problems concern the entire population, and all should take part in bringing them about.

The fact of basic similarity among people is also demonstrated by the speed with which recreational interests are adopted by nationals of other countries who come to live in

the United States, especially the younger people. Enthusiasm for baseball and prizefights, and other indigenous American games and sports, spreads to all nationals that come to live here.

VARIABLES

But just as the appeal must be made to the universal cravings and needs (constants) in man, so recreationists have to be aware of the variables that inevitably exist in modern democratic communities.

Neighborhood Changes. In planning for recreation in large cities, for example, the cultural and national character of the population has to be considered. Centers established for residents in a neighborhood at a given time became obsolete some years later because of changes in population. In some neighborhoods in large cities, recreational centers that met the needs of first-generation Americans became useless when these people moved out of the slum sections as they grew older. The dingy railroad flats and ill-lighted and ill-ventilated tenements tolerated a generation or two ago no longer satisfied the younger people. As a result, the number of children and youths in the neighborhood was considerably reduced. In other neighborhoods, there occurred a complete change in the character of the clientele.

Recreation planned for one group of nationals may not fit the members of another national or cultural group. This problem is particularly important when a national or religious group sponsors the recreational center. When the neighborhood changes, neither staff nor financial backing are acceptable to the newcomers, and in some instances the original sponsors are unwilling to continue. Sometimes such centers are closed down, or they are turned over to the leaders of the new neighborhood group. In some cases, where sectarian considerations are not too important, the sponsorship remains but the personnel is changed.

Recreational plans for a given neighborhood have to envisage not only existing conditions but also trends in population, and provide for variations and readjustments for the future. This accords with the general principle of flexibility

essential in dealing with all human affairs, particularly education.

Rural versus Urban Populations. Rural populations present different problems from urban populations. By and large, the former are more homogeneous and more stable. Interests and activities are more uniform and indigenous than are those of city dwellers. Cities consist of large masses and congregate groups with significant differences in background, habits, and interests. They, therefore, require more varied and complex recreational outlets than do people living in villages and small towns, where the population is smaller, more compact, and homogeneous. In the latter, recreational activities can be less varied than those required to meet the needs of city folk. Another variable is the degree of sophistication and educational background. Since the so-called "cultural" opportunities are less accessible on farms, in villages and small towns, recreation needs to include these more in rural sections than in cities. In the latter, elementary and high schools make available to pupils broadening experiences and contacts through trips to museums, zoological gardens, libraries, factories, and scientific exhibits. At home and elsewhere, children overhear conversations on science, art, and general culture; libraries are near at hand; theaters, movies, concerts, are accessible. Such opportunities are not as widespread in rural sections.

Recreational facilities and activities would of necessity have to be different in these two different settings. Since in rural communities there is no dearth of space or opportunity for outdoor diversions, recreation here needs to emphasize group projects and suitable indoor activities, especially during winter months. Of special importance in such communities are small groups. Special-interest groups serve to widen the horizon of children, young people and adults. These can in some instances stem from the school, Grange, and Church, and such groups as 4-H Clubs. However, recreation can be made even more valuable if it encourages special-interest groups and hobbies, such as astronomy, geology, the sciences, music and singing for younger people, and community and world affairs for adults and youth. Federal and local government ought to be

more concerned with recreation in rural America than has been the case in the past. Local or union school authorities should take the initiative in providing facilities and transportation, and make school and municipal buildings and grounds available for general recreation during and outside of school hours. Special recreational areas for this purpose in villages and towns are essential.

Another charactertistic difference between rural and urban life is in their vocations. Farm occupations are not only manual, but also involve physical exertion. They engage the total neuromuscular organism. By contrast, the manual occupations in factories and shops exercise only limited areas of the organism. Farmers become fatigued, factory workers exhausted. Fatigue is overcome by rest and relaxation; exhaustion requires, in addition to rest, also a change of occupation. The job of the farm worker is more varied than is that of a salesman or factory or office worker in the city. Hence the recreation of city people needs to be more active and more diverse than that of the farmer and rural worker.

DIFFERENTIALS

Several of the many differentials within the personality that affect the character of recreation will be treated briefly in the following section of this chapter. Its aim will be to indicate that a scientifically planned recreation allows for numerous differences in people because of their varying permanent and temporary needs and cravings, and because of inherent and acquired differences and contrasts among them. Just as there are common needs and cravings, and also variables in the conditions and circumstances that affect recreational content and practices, so there also are differentials within each person and among the various people involved.

Some of the differentials already touched upon are those that exist between intraverts and extroverts, and between physiocentrics and psychocentrics,[3] to which can be added persons with quick or slow responses (tempo), or cadence. Still others of which mention has already been made are inherent differences in intellectual capacities, and especially the rate of

[3] See page 56.

growth in intellectual abilities in children and young people,[4] the great variations in talent,[5] and permanent and transitory interests.[6] Individualization in education and recreation consists of awareness and use of these differentials. What is vaguely referred to as "individualization" means nothing more than allowing and encouraging each to learn and act in accordance with these intrapersonal and interpersonal differentials.

Age. The most common and most important differential is age. Schools are particularly guilty, and to a lesser degree also parents, of expecting from all children of a given age the same level of achievement and performance. Despite the fact that existence of individual differences in capacity, ability, and rate of development has been amply demonstrated, schools still give marks, pass and fail children, as though a blanket standard could be applied to them all. Much personal tragedy, psychological damage, and social hazard are caused by these unenlightened practices. Adults, too, are in a way punished by society through failure and rejection, even though they had little or no original capacity for a job or profession.

To the very young child, education and recreation are identical; in the older child, they run parallel or coalesce; while in youth and adults, the two are distinct and separate. At the nursery and kindergarten age, the child's activity is motivated by play and pleasure. Through it he expresses impulses and satisfies needs, at the same time learning environment and absorbing impressions and understandings. Enlightened parents and educators are aware of the close relation between play, learning, and growth, and provide the younger child with latitude and opportunities to achieve them.

In our present culture, recreation and education for the older child are sharply separated. He is expected to spend specified hours of the day in "serious" work. He must remain quiet, absorb subject matter, and learn skills. Play and free expression are reserved for other periods, if at all, or are left to chance and circumstance after hours. The school imposes upon the pupil a program devoid of any pleasure elements. He

[4] See page 58.
[5] See page 57.
[6] See pages 59-60.

may rebel against it at first, but attitudes at home and of his playmates toward school and learning cause him to accept this situation. The fact that a sibling or a friend can read and write, and that parents extol knowledge and learning, serves as a motive for giving himself to acquiring them,[7] and a cleavage between play and serious work is thus established. Too frequently, however, this cleavage does not hold. The classroom lull is disturbed by outbursts of unrepressed hilarity and laughter, and the child is disciplined. When a pupil persists to act out his drives, he becomes a "problem child"; but when he succumbs, he pays another price, for studies show that the physical development of children sustains its greatest retardation in the first year of school. This is an important fact that educators and recreationists must keep in mind.

The chasm between formal education and recreation among young people is widened even more. School becomes more and more "serious activity," while the physical and psychological needs are relegated to the background. "Learning" is paramount—not learning to live, but learning to know. In some of the more progressive schools, provision is made for recreation at stated periods in the day, but the amount of time alloted to it decreases in the higher grades and is practically non-existent in high schools. In colleges, there is little or no relation whatever between formal education and recreation. Each student is left almost entirely to his own devices. This breach continues, and reaches its highest mark in the life of the adult. Work and recreation are completely separated; work is not intended to give one pleasure. The prevalent ideas do not distinguish between work and drudgery, despite the fact that most people who work in factories, shops, and offices do a great deal of the latter.

In setting up a recreational program, therefore, the differential of age must be considered. It is also clear from the preceding brief discussion that no program can be static; it must be constantly changing, added to and subtracted from, to meet the differential of age.

Development. Among the most serious lacks in present-day schools is their unawareness of differential development in

[7] See page 58.

pupils. Children may have conscious or hidden hunger for activities and experiences because of neural, physical, psychological, or social development. The child is a constantly changing entity whose needs must be met from day to day. Elsewhere[8] we have referred to the five stages of development that require correspondingly suitable types of activities and interests if we wish to help the child and youth develop his capacities fully and help him adjust to the realities of the world. What is most important to keep in mind, however, is that children (and adults) of a given age are not necessarily at the same stage of development in respect to any point of reference. Because the rate of growth in the nervous, muscular, and psychological constitution of individuals is different, they reach different stages of development at any given chronological age. No two persons are ever exposed to precisely the same experiences and influences, and their social growth as well cannot be expected to be the same. Some children whose muscular co-ordination is of a high level at twelve may be overtaken several years later by others who had been retarded in that respect. A child who is responsive to music at one age finds himself outdistanced by a second a few years later. As already pointed out in the preceding section, to expect the same intellectual or emotional attainments or the same performance in physical prowess from children because of age similarity is not in conformity with the facts of growth. What was said of children applies to young people and adults as well, though possibly to a lesser extent.

Sex. Whether differences in preferences between boys and girls and men and women stem from organic differences or from the cultural emphasis is still undetermined. There are those who feel that men and women, being structurally and organically different, must also differ in interests and capacities. The presence or absence of hormones produce psychological as well as structural differences, so that response to stimuli and choice varies. There are again those who believe that environment and culture establish differences in preferences and choice among men and women. From earliest years, boys and girls are conditioned for their respective roles in adult life. The fact

[8] See pages 51-54; also Slavson, S. R., *Character Education in a Democracy, op. cit.*, pp. 89-114.

that dolls are the prevalent toys for girls and wagons and guns for boys serves to condition them for the future. Primary and secondary sex characteristics, and their psychologic concomitants in the formation of character, are not important as far as social functioning is concerned.[9]

An observation conducted for ten years by the present writer of free choice in science interests among boys and girls between the ages of four and fourteen years seems to favor the first view. The children had been treated in their own homes and at school practically the same. At school, they had access to exactly the same facilities and materials. There was a great variety of toys, materials, and apparatus; and, as already indicated, the children came from homes where, for the most part, differences between boys and girls were greatly understressed. Our results follow:

1. Boy's interests in science are much more intense than those of girls of all ages.
2. There occurs a definite differentiation in scientific interests of boys and girls at about nine years of age. The boys' interests concentrate upon mechanical-inventive activities, while those of the girls are more of the manipulative-exploratory nature (chemistry, dyeing, etching, etc.)
3. At about eleven or twelve years, girls become intensely interested in the human body, in sex, and in birth. As a result, they become interested scientifically in other animals, also.
4. Boys develop the biological interests a year or two later than girls.
5. The boy's interests return, after puberty, to the mechanical-inventive occupations, while those of the girls continue along biological lines. Boys at this stage often ask for a regular course in physics or chemistry, with preference for the former. These courses, however, must be practical, with sufficient opportunities for construction and experimentation of a mechanical nature.
6. Between twelve and fourteen there occurs a gradual widening of interest which radiates toward world problems. But here, too, there is an unmistakable sex difference in content and quality. The girls' interests are more of a "personal" nature; they are more subjective and aesthetic. The boy's interest content is drawn from war, technology, industry.
7. Our observation confirms the conclusions of Curtis and of Pollack with reference to interest range. We found that this range

[9] See pages 41-42.

was wider for girls than for boys. The girls extended their interests into biological, biochemical, and personal channels, while the boys tended to remain more or less fixed to the practical-mechanical areas.

8. To a very great extent, the difference in interest among boys and girls who have had an equal and a fairly rounded scientific background is one of emphasis. Girls continue to be interested in mechanical principles, but to an ever-decreasing extent; while boys evince interest in biology and physiology, but usually retain a major preoccupation with mechanics.

9. It is therefore desirable that a fairly rounded scientific experience be offered to children under fourteen years of age, upon which, beginning at that age, a more specialized superstructure of more advanced knowledge may be built.[10]

This does not mean that an educational and recreational setup needs to be completely different for boys and girls. The difference in their interests is not so great that this would be justified. We have found that it is not so strongly marked on the basis of sex alone as to necessitate entirely different plants. The interest difference is one of emphasis and duration, rather than of content; and both boys and girls should be exposed to fairly similar opportunities for activities and choice. However, it would be expected that as boys and girls enter adolescence, they would display sharp differences in preference. The girls seem to be assuming more of the traditional feminine role, while the boys prefer occupations considered appropriate for them. Girls become interested in dressmaking, homemaking, beauty culture, music, poetry, and making themselves attractive to boys; while the boys occupy themselves with sports, arts and crafts, shop, science, politics, and careers. Mitchel and Mason find that:

> Boys engage in more active, vigorous games than girls; while many of the active games of boys are also played by girls they are participated in less vigorously and strenuously. Boys are more given to competitive games than girls and play them with more of a driving, winning spirit. Organized play activity in general is more characteristic of boys behavior than girls. Games requiring a high degree of muscular skill are more frequently preferred by boys than girls. Girls are more conservative and sedentary in their play.[11]

[10] Slavson, S. R., and Speer, Robert K., *Science in the New Education* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1934), pp. 133-135.

[11] Mitchell, E. D., and Mason, B. F., *The Theory of Play* (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1939), p. 164.

It has been pointed out by some writers that co-education, which in our case would be co-recreation, may not be as desirable as it at first appears. The trend for equality for men and women is in conformity with an evolving social philosophy and a democratic order of life. However, even a most evolved state cannot counter or evade basic biological laws. The fact of being a mother and nurturer cannot be ignored. The majority of women are still potential mothers, and their character must be pointed up for that role. The awareness of this difference is of extreme importance, but there is no reason why difference should suggest inequality. A person can be different but still equal in his rights and in importance. Attempt to eliminate difference in manner and values between men and women may have serious outcomes to society and to mental health.

Writing under the title, "A Warning to the Career Woman," in the *New York Times Magazine* for July 16, 1944, Margaret Barnard Pickel, adviser to women graduate students at Columbia University, says:

> By and large, women will not be, any more than they have been in the past, the movers and shakers of the world beyond the horizon. Is it too hard for women to be instead the helpers and servers?
>
> That phrase from Ibsen has annoyed many women, yet it is not ignoble. It calls to the fundamental and honorable qualities that differentiate women from men. Women may well be proud of that capacity which marks them when they are at their best. It is not unworthy to consider this their great contribution to personal and professional life. Some women scorn it as a sort of biological throwback. Well, biology is an old business and likely to continue at the old stand. While it does, women can profit by bringing to their work the qualities that are essentially feminine.

Buildings and Play Areas. Leaving the characterological and biological differences that affect the planning of good recreation, we find that there are some practical and physical matters that command the recreationist's attention. Several of them will be considered here, the first of which is the physical plant.

In setting up buildings for recreation, not only do the needs of the community and the funds available have to be considered, but also the use to which these buildings will be put. A

building planned for multiple use—that is, where different types of recreational activities are to be carried on—would have parts of the building either designed for a special activity or convertible to different uses. A gymnasium, for example, can be used for theatricals, as a ballroom, and for large meetings; or it can be used exclusively for sports. A club room can be planned so that it can be changed into an arts-and-crafts room, and some centers have convertible furniture for this purpose. Entire buildings are sometimes designed for a single purpose, such as a physical-education wing, a club-room building, or a shop building. Each is permanently equipped to meet a special need.

Buildings and equipment have to be chosen with a view to their usefulness to persons of different ages. If the needs of very young children are to be met, it would be necessary to have nursery and kindergarten rooms, free playrooms, rest rooms, outdoor space, and equipment. Older children would require game rooms, shops, art rooms, and rooms for group activities; while adolescents need club rooms, committee rooms, a dance hall, and a stage, in addition to other equipment and facilities. Adults can use some of the equipment designed for adolescents, with specialized shops in radio, carpentry, "tinker shops" for general repairs and experimentation, rooms for card playing, library, reading and game rooms. A center that aims to serve the total community should make its appeal to all ages, by providing needs at different levels.

Play areas can be provided in accordance with the facilities that already exist in the neighborhood or community. Where recreation centers do not have an abundance of ground space for play areas, municipal councils should be urged to provide them. In the absence of better facilities, some centers convert roofs of their buildings into play areas, while others have to contend themselves with the use of indoor gymnasia or basements. A center located near a park can use it as a campus for free play and sports. In some cities, Park Departments co-operate closely with settlement houses and neighborhood centers in this regard. City pools, near-by beaches, and street showers connected to fire hydrants are used where no other swimming facilities exist. On the other hand, gym showers are opened to all

the residents of the neighborhood. Summer "home camps" provide for neighborhood needs as well.

"Extension services" is a recent development in neighborhood work. Through this service, street groups are organized away from the center. Stores, schoolrooms, or small buildings are rented where recreational activities and clubs are set up.

Economic Status. Among the important differentials to be considered in planning a recreational setup is the economic status of the neighborhood. In a neighborhood where leisure-time needs are amply provided by private schools, parents, nurses, or tutors, the recreational center is supplementary. It may provide physical education, clubs, and other small- and large-group activities. There is less need here for music and the arts, trips, and excursions than in economically deprived neighborhoods. In more affluent communities, where many advantages are offered through the home and school, only supplementary services are needed, whereas in congested neighborhoods the most primary recreational needs have to be met by the recreational center and public school. "Y's" in well-to-do-sections resemble in many respects private clubs. The appointments in the lobby, waiting rooms, and offices are like those of a banker's office. They boast of luxurious turkish baths, violet-ray rooms, masseurs, barbers, valet service, restaurants, and similar luxuries.

Adult activities in such centers also differ in many respects from those planned for the so-called "underprivileged" group. The wealthy find many recreations and amusements in their daily contacts in and out of their homes, in country clubs and on estates, in the theater, opera, and concert hall. The economically deprived have none of these, and some recreation must be provided for them by the community. The advantages of music, the theater, and numerous other cultural interests have to be supplied by the recreational and neighborhood centers and schools. In these and other respects, the social background and economic status will determine the nature and content of the facilities for a given neighborhood.

Personal Services. A number of services to the community, other than direct recreation, were introduced in recent years as the result of a recognized need which, when unmet, tends to

social and personal pathology. Poor health, lack of proper clothes, unacceptable social manners, emotional tension, and delinquency eliminate many from normal participation in recreation and group associations. To counteract this, trained "neighborhood workers" and case workers have been added to the staffs of some recreational agencies, whose responsibility it is to remove or lessen pressures upon children and young people through guidance, consultation with parents and teachers, home visits, referrals to clinics, hospitals, and other social agencies for relief, psychological adjustment, and psychotherapy.[12]

The nature of the help needed is largely determined by the neighborhood. Where the members come from economically superior groups, there may exist a need for psychological guidance and parent education—not for relief or health services. In neighborhoods where poverty is extant or the population is of a low-income level, relief giving and health guidance often become the major needs. Many centers have guidance clinics with trained workers, on the theory that all children and young people require help in finding their way in the complex world of today. They have come to recognize that the more diverse the environment, the greater is the need for help in finding one's way around and in orientating oneself. The help of psychologists and psychiatrists is often necessary, and the central intake[13] is of great value in this preventive work.

Where families are able to pay full camp fees, they send their children to private summer camps. In other neighborhoods camps have to be provided by private and government agencies. Most settlements and "Y's" conduct camps of their own. Such camps also provide continuous supervision of physical health and personality development. All-year guidance by the same personnel is valuable because it is consistent and also because the center becomes more meaningful to the individual.

Ownership and maintenance of camps, however, should be a community project in which parents, residents of the neighborhood, and members of the center all take part. When

[12] Feldman, Yonata, "Case Work Services in Group Work Agencies," in *The Group*, Vol. VI, No. 3. Also *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

[13] See page 65.

the number of applications exceeds the capacity of their own camps, recreation centers usually avail themselves of the accommodations offered by other free or "scholarship" camps. It is advisable, for reasons already stated, that as few of the younger children as possible be turned over to such "outside" camps. If such referrals become necessary, older boys and girls, who make new adjustments with less strain and need less consistent care and supervision, should be sent to "outside" camps. The younger ones ought to be retained in the center's own camp. More recently, "day camps" and "home camps" have been introduced to supplement this growing service to city children.[14]

[14] For a detailed description of conducting such camps with maximum educational results and as a plan for training in democratic participation, see Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press), pp. 176-181.

CHAPTER VIII

Leadership and Recreation

As RECREATION ASSUMES A DEEPER MEANING, the role of the leader correspondingly varies and expands. There was a time when the leader's duties consisted mostly of supervising spaces, supplying and keeping in repair sport goods, initiating and directing activities. His chief assets were a knowledge of special skills and an ability to carry through a program. But as the understanding of recreation and its relation to the total personality and the modern community emerges, the leader's role and functions are being revised. Good leadership of necessity includes a knowledge of games and skills. Such knowledge on the part of the leader stimulates the participants and gives them the security and encouragement to proceed on their own. The leader is first and foremost a resource person. It is to him that the participants turn for help and guidance, and he must be equipped for this role. He must know the nature and use of materials, tools, equipment, games, sports, arts and crafts, literature, and the numerous other specialties that make up the body of recreation today.

Activities and programs are the backbone and instruments of recreation; and relationships, attitudes, and desirable social patterns stem from them. Thus recreation cannot underestimate the importance of skills and, as we shall see later, of administrative abilities and a sense of orderliness. On the other hand, it cannot overlook the fact that the leader serves also in a number of symbolic roles.

There is no escaping the element of symbolism in a leader-follower relation. Even the most sophisticated people project attributes upon the leader and expect him to live up to their phantasies, a task difficult to accomplish in everyday relations. There is, too, considerable disappointment and resultant hostility if he fails. When the leader does not live up to the ideals of his followers, they become hostile toward him. The leader

must be at great pains not to meet this with counter-hostility or he jeopardizes, or destroys, his leadership role. The ability to withstand alternation of hostility, criticism, and disapproval with enthusiastic approval is a primary requisite for leadership. The leader has to have the capacity to subjugate his ego to the purpose and aim of his work. Frequently this is difficult, for the basic drives of a leader usually proceed from ego needs.

Even when we fully accept the leadership of another person, we are unconsciously resentful of him. The leader may appear to be fully accepted; actually there lurks resentment to being outshone by one more prominent who occupies a position of importance, one whose opinion is more mighty and who enjoys greater prestige. The result of this basic and rather intense, though probably hidden hostility, is a psychological set through which the follower's awareness of the leader's inadequacies and divergences from the ideal are greatly exaggerated. They are, as it were, pounced upon as proof of the leader's imperfection and unworthiness to occupy a superior position. It is as if the followers lay in wait for the leader's transgression in order to dethrone him. Actually the aim is rather to work off resentments and counteract feelings of inferiority.

THE LEADER AS A PARENTAL FIGURE

The leader is a parental figure to those whom he supervises, whether they be children, youth, or adults. His superior knowledge and the authority vested in him automatically arouse responses, both positive and negative, similar to those one has toward a parent. Reactions differ toward male and female teachers and supervisors, because attitudes toward fathers and mothers are essentially different, and these are redirected (projected) upon the recreational director as well. We can therefore expect that the leader in charge will be treated by each participant—modified by group climate and pressures, of course—as the latter had treated his parent of the same sex. An individual who presents behavior problems in the home is likely to create the same difficulties in other group situations. Groups are extensions of the home, and attitudes toward people are extensions of the attitudes there. This very important prin-

ciple must be kept in mind in all dealings with people, especially when one is in a position of authority.

THE LEADER AS SYMBOL OF THE ADULT WORLD

The leader also symbolizes to the young participant the adult world. The young person cannot see or comprehend that world; he makes up his mind about it on the basis of his experiences with individuals. If parents and teachers are cruel and persecuting, then the world becomes a cruel one; if they are kind and friendly, then the rest of the world is good. This is the only way in which a young person can judge the adult world. Some pupils harbor great resentment against schools and teachers, and children's conversations are replete with hostility, as demonstrated by the following:

BOY: What's a good poison to give someone you want to kill?
LEADER: There are lots of poisons. Why do you ask?
BOY: I want to put something in my teacher's glass when she drinks water that'll kill her. Gee, but she's mean!

While this is said facetiously, the general intent is hostile.

Or we overhear a conversation between two girls:

My teacher is crazy. Honestly, she must be crazy the way she carries on!
My teacher is no angel either. I'd like to scratch her face for her sometimes.

A club leader reports a conversation between two boys:

"Gee, I expect a lot of trouble tomorrow." "Why?" asks the other. "Oh, well," replies the first with a chuckle, "I took a poke at her today."

Now, social attitudes and regard for society are not built on such foundations. If we are to accept and be kindly disposed toward society and authority, we must accept and have regard for the individuals who constitute that authority. Since these attitudes are conditioned in early childhood, parents, teachers, club leaders, janitors, policemen, and others must earn the respect and affection of children if we wish them to become

socially constructive and personally wholesome. When children and adults are made discontented, resentful, and hostile because of the treatment they receive by those in authority, they project or transfer their feelings upon everyone else in their environment. If repression and humiliation continue on the job and in everyday living, discontent and destructiveness are further crystallized and enhanced.

In a sense, then, recreationists have the job of counteracting hostile and destructive attitudes, as well as establishing new ones. One of their important functions is to give the participants, whether children, youth, or adults, a happy experience. Children especially have to be convinced that not all grown-ups are unfeeling, peremptory, and repressive. Freedom of choice and action, a warm personal relation, and a respectful attitude toward them cannot but convince children of our basic friendliness.

DEALING WITH NEGATIVE ATTITUDES

One of the major conditions for successful functioning as a leader is to be able to accept hostility and antagonism gracefully and affection objectively. To take part in a positive relation where friendliness, respect, and mutuality exist is a much simpler matter than to withstand unreasonable and unjustifiable antagonism. People can be helped most when they can freely express these negative feelings first. Frequently, even fairly "normal" persons relate themselves to others through an initial discharge of such emotions. When one is punished or demeaned for them, he becomes alienated and may be lost to us irreparably. But when the leader is able gracefully to ignore the early outbursts of hostility, the child or youth's guilts are allayed and he is grateful. This draws him toward the adult, and a step in the education of emotions is taken.

Hostility and aggression so accepted integrate the emotions of the individual. Instead of withholding negative impulses for more propitious occasions, such as discharging them against a younger brother or a pet, the individual is encouraged through our tolerance to be both positive and negative toward *one and the same object.* When a person has to separate the objects of his love and his hate, integration of his psychological

processes is prevented. But when the same object serves as the recipient of both love and hate, the two opposing emotions become unified, and one learns to love wisely and hate discriminately. For this reason, the good parent and intelligent recreation leader is not disturbed by manifestations of negative feelings, for he recognizes in them essential steps in the development of the child and in the maintenance of mental health in the adult.

Aggression is acceptable when displayed in the early stages of a relationship and later when it appears only periodically. When negative attitudes seem permanent, they point to personality distortions requiring psychological treatment. But here also it is essential to distinguish between transitory eruptions of repressed, subsurface biological and psychological pressures and the permanent organization of character along lines of hostility and destructiveness. In the one case, the safety valves are functioning to establish balance and health; in the other, only one vector of the psychological complex is present to the exclusion of its opposite and stabilizing force.

Too strict withholding of negative impulses creates disorganization within the group as well. Especially is this true where the leader is arbitrary and unjust. Frustration engenders aggression; and when it cannot be discharged against the frustrating object—namely, the leader—it is redirected (displaced) toward substitutes. In a recreational program, these substitutes may be tools and materials, furniture, the building, or other members of the group. Where hostility intended for the leader is expressed toward other members, "group problems" are apt to arise. Lack of group morale frequently stems from resentment to and dislike of leaders. As recreationists, we do all in our power to interpret to children and young people the world in which they live. They need to become acquainted with the efforts being made to correct the many disharmonies of life today. This must be done honestly and straightforwardly; indirection and covering up what is obviously wrong will only intensify emotions and sharpen opposition. Youth will respect and co-operate with their elders only when convinced of their honesty and good will. They must be frankly told the true conditions that exist today, why these conditions exist, and

what improvements are contemplated. Most people find themselves inadequate to meet frank criticism and do not feel free to admit shortcomings. They become defensive, attempt to justify what is, and rationalize motives. Untruths or half-truths will not do, however. We need the frankness and honesty to encourage the young to take part in rebuilding our world. If we fail, young people will grow alienated from us and will turn to adventures or reactionaries who are glib, but definite.

Adults as well need to have their views and acts respected and appreciated. They also need to be encouraged to participate and assume responsibility. Leaders of adults' free-time occupations can, through their attitudes, either extend dependence or build self-confidence. Adults also require emotional security and ego satisfactions. Like children, they, too, act up to the standards set for them.

Even quite young children can make their own choice of occupation and carry out their own plans to a degree commensurate with their powers. In this, the child always needs moral support and frequently also help; but giving help should have as its end freeing him from the need for help. A good illustration of guidance through sympathetic and sensitive handling of what might have proved a difficult situation follows:

> The staff member directed one of the girls to me. "Do you want to join the Girl's Club?" I asked. She answered: "Yes, but all I want to do is swim." And she said this out of the side of her mouth; she was tough. I said: "That's fine. That is all you have to do if that is what you want to do." She said: "All right, what do I have to pay?" "It will cost fifty cents."
>
> We took her fifty cents and gave her a ticket. I went into the Club a few weeks later. She was leaning against the door looking into the typewriter room. I asked her how the pool was. She said: "It's swell. What are those girls doing in there?" I told her it was a typewriting class. She said: "What kind of membership do you have to get that?" I said: "You don't have to have any type of membership. Your ticket will let you go in there too."
>
> She seemed to be considering that, and I went on. . . . A few weeks later I found the girl in a corner pecking away on a typewriter. Very soon I noticed her in dramatics, and it was only a short time before she was engaged in half a dozen activities; but if you had tried a two-burner gas stove and a broom on her the first day, to make a housewife out of her, or said, "Come in and find expression

in art," she would not have known what you were talking about. We try to give the youngsters what they want first. . . .

The happy experience is the first. The possibility of real venture is the second. The third is the possibility for recognition from one's fellows. We cannot withhold that recognition unless there is also the possibility of achievement. Those are the things that we work with, that carry them on into higher and better planes of activities and after that to physical well-being.[1]

We have here an illustration of a good procedure to follow. The girl's *felt need was met;* she wanted to swim and was allowed to do so. No effort was made to impose or "encourage" her to undertake a program or activities set by the recreation center or the leader. These two facts gave the girl a feeling of security; she would not be imposed upon or forced into activities against her will. Being hostile and rebellious, she could not, and probably would not, have accepted a set program. Because she felt free—not imposed upon—she did not resist it, but rather became amenable to the influence of the environment. Once this was accomplished, she herself proceeded to expand her contacts, and chose occupations and interests other than her first preference, swimming. The adult accepted the girl for what she was; she was neither limited nor pushed in anyway. Both his attitude and language display complete acceptance of her. The fact that she was not scrutinized, judged, or advised gave her a feeling of security to venture out further into the environment. Once accepted, she felt free, less constrained, less resistive. It is through such reaching out toward the outside world that personality grows and social attitudes develop. Through it also character defects are corrected. The girl probably had one of the very few friendly and constructive relations with an adult here. Her character indicates that she probably was rebellious at home, at school, and in other contacts. Being allowed to make her own choice at her own pace changed her feelings about grown-ups. She discovered that they can be friendly and respectful; one does not have to fight them. Perception of the world generally as a result of such an experience with an adult (as a symbol) changes. In therapy, we

[1] Burger, Arthur T., in *Proceedings of the Thirty-third Convention of the Boys' Clubs of America* (New York, Boys Clubs of America), p. 70.

know that changed feelings toward an individual are transformed into a changed feeling toward the world generally, which may also have been the case with this girl, thereby reducing her self-protective "toughness." This episode illustrates the principle of choice by exposure.[2]

THE NATURE OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

The contrasts between leadership in a democratic and an autocratic group are very sharp. In an autocratic group, there is really no leadership, for the relation is one of domination and submission. Democratic leadership implies mutual participation, acceptance, and respect. Such a leadership relation does not preclude restraint or authority, however, when the occasion warrants it. The functions of recreational leadership are not rigidly circumscribed; they are flexible and multiple. The leader cannot remain consistently inactive or continually assertive. The needs of the situation must be met in accordance with the best interests of the members. In working with social clubs, groups in a manual activity, or physical education, one cannot confine himself to one type of leadership only, such as *laissez faire,* democratic, or autocratic.

A leader has to adjust his role to the needs of a specific situation that would help individuals and the group in their movement toward higher and more integrated forms of expression. In a situation that holds promise of constructive movement through the efforts of the group itself, the *laissez-faire* approach would be indicated. This is equally true of an individual who seems to be able to solve his own problems or overcome difficulties. On the other hand, in situations that appear to disrupt morale and upset the recreational program, assertiveness on the part of the leader is imperative. We have seen in some of the developments described in other parts of the volume, especially the junior and intermediate programs,[3] how first steps in stimulating activity by adults had salutary effects. As soon as it gained momentum, they withdrew.[4]

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[2] See page 67.

[3] See Chapter VI.

[4] This method has been described as "alternate assertiveness and withdrawal." See Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press, 1937), p. 25.

Sometimes it is necessary to use actual prohibition and restraint. It is of utmost importance, however, that these do not become either prevalent or frequent, for the value of the recreational activity may as a result be destroyed and the participants alienated.

Perhaps it would be in place to comment briefly in this connection upon destruction of the physical plant. It also is a form of attack upon the staff, who are annoyed or hurt by such vandalism. The physical environment here symbolizes persons.

Except in instances where the personalities of the participants are pathologically inclined toward destruction, sympathetic understanding, democratic control, and participation eliminate or diminish such impulses. This does not mean that constant pampering is necessary. Leaders and recreational directors represent authority and should exert appropriate restraint. Democratic leadership does not exclude authority, provided it is employed for the benefit and advantage of the group.[5] If the intent is personal aggrandizement, either in power, status, or material advantage on the part of the persons in authority, restraint becomes autocratic. But when one is motivated by the need of others, appropriate authority is essential and acceptable. Rabindranath Tagore said: "Only those who love may chastize." This profound statement has since been confirmed by psychologists, who have also found that one can accept even punishment from a person who loves him. Groups and individuals accept the authority of those whom they trust, admire, and love. This is fundamentally the relationship of leader and led in a democratic culture.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE LEADER

The ability to employ different leadership techniques is conditioned by inner freedom, pliability, and personal development of the leader. One who is rigid and unable to make adjustments easily is unsuitable for the role of leadership. Only people who are themselves psychologically free are able to allow

[5] See Slavson, S. R., "Leadership and Democracy are Compatible," *Group Work in a Year of Crisis, Proceedings of the American Association for the Study of Group Work* (New York, Association Press, 1941), pp. 26-31.

freedom, and one who has flexibility can tolerate it in others. The autocratic leader is compelled by his insecurity and fear to be arbitrary and impose authority. A secure person is also freedom-giving and flexible. Multiphase leadership is honest and free of emotional restrictions. It is neither over-permissive nor over-authoritarian. Leaders who rigidly insist on "democratic" procedures when they are not applicable to a situation are harming, rather than aiding, the recreational setting. Many matters discussed for hours with consequent discouragement and rage are best solved by individual decision. Frequently, groups disintegrate because of petty annoyances and meaningless squabbles over insignificant details. An experienced and flexible leader can judge the relative importance of the matter at hand and deal with it accordingly. Unimportant matters, if given too much stress, irritate the group, create resentments against the leader, arouse conflicts among members, and lower interest potentials. One of the best means of achieving mutual acceptance between leader and group is the leader's capacity for active participation without exerting too much power.

TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

There are three types of leadership discernible, each with specific skills and areas: activity and group leadership, administrative leadership, and community leadership.

Activity and Group Leadership. This subject has been discussed throughout this volume. But so far we have emphasized functions of the leader in terms of relationships and skills, and little has been said about personality qualifications. It is necessary to differentiate these in relation to the different leadership functions.

A recreational staff as we envisage it should be chosen on the basis of sympathy with people, honesty, maturity, intellectual integrity, as well as skills. To be effective, the recreational institution, the staff, and leaders must have a progressive point of view, a definite purpose, a clear and wide objective. Character and ideas do not grow in a vacuum. They evolve in an inspiring environment, motivated by ideals and convictions. A physical setting and administrative perfection alone do not yield the larger results of recreation or education; the

staff (and volunteers) create an atmosphere that is more important than the physical organization. Though having convictions, recreational workers must refrain from indoctrination and from imposing their views upon members. Indoctrination blocks mental activity, intellectual development, open-mindedness, and a progressive attitude toward an evolving world. Instead, they should use their convictions to stimulate inquiry, thought, and study. By example, they set a standard for objectivity, tolerance, and an experimental attitude toward life. Adults who impose ideas exploit minds they should develop and impoverish personalities they should enrich.

In *Creative Group Education,* we have listed as desirable the following personal qualifications for group leadership, which are equally applicable to the field of general recreation:[6]

1. Psychological insight.
2. A socialized personality.
3. Intellectual hospitality.
4. Respect for the personalities and views of others.
5. Broad social interests and an evolved social philosophy.
6. The capacity to allow others to grow at their own pace.
7. Emotional maturity.
8. Co-operativeness.
9. Resourcefulness.
10. Creativity and respect for the creativity of other people.
11. Love for people.
12. Cheerfulness and evenness of temper.
13. Knowledge.
14. Humor.

Administrative Leadership. The functions of the administrative leader differ in some respects from those of the activity leader. Administrators concern themselves with the background setting for recreation. Order, equipment, and proper timing are essential to the success of any program; and the ability to co-ordinate the many elements that go into the smooth running of such a program is of utmost importance.

Freedom is not possible without the stable background of order, consistency, and regularity. Physical disorder results in

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 24. The reader is also advised to read Ch. II, pp. 24-40, in that volume for a further discussion of the function and qualifications of leadership in recreation.

program disorganization. When equipment and materials necessary for a specific activity are not available, interest evaporates often beyond the point of revival. When a gymnasium director finds his rooms dirty and equipment neglected or damaged, his program suffers as a result. General uncleanliness and disorder in a building suggests to the participants disorderly behavior.

The integration of the work of different departments and different staff members of a recreational center is essential to a constructive experience. Lacking this background, the educational effort is seriously impaired and even defeated. Administrative leadership is responsible for maintaining this major factor for the effectiveness of recreational work.

But administration in a good recreation system follows the precepts of democracy and the democratic pattern. Only in a few specific instances may it be authoritarian, and the fewer the better. Throughout this volume, it has been emphasized that participation serves best the ends of personality development and training in democracy. This should be kept in mind by the administrator as well as by the educator. The fact that the former's duties are more of an administrative nature does not justify his abandoning the basic foundation of democratic living. All important administrative decisions need to be made by the group of participants who are affected, or by their representatives. Those who are affected by a decision or plan should take part in its making. Although the carrying out of decisions may devolve upon the administrative staff, it should not be in sole authority, nor turn dictator. There needs to be constant consultation between committees of the participants and staff and board members if we wish to fit recreation into the total pattern of democracy. Rule by committee, and consultation and discussion among individuals, are applicable to the administrative as well to the educational part of recreation.

Community Leadership. In *Creative Group Education,* we have suggested that leadership consists of three factors: the ability to understand and to respond to the desires and needs of a group; the capacity to help the group express these desires; and the power to focus attention upon oneself. Since community organization falls outside the scope of the present

volume, little will be said about the type of leadership here beyond the fact that it combines some of the qualities of leaders in activities and administration, to which are added other qualities as well. Introverts are not suitable for working with groups and masses. The community leader should be a person who can manipulate people, carry them along emotionally, and keep their interests whetted. This implies enthusiasm. The skills in working with a community are in many respects different than those in activity leadership. Although the best plan to stimulate community participation is to make it articulate and democratic, much of the work consists in setting of the stage, choosing proper people for committees, and in other ways manipulating situations to get desired results.

One of the difficulties of recreational centers—and it is a serious one—is that all three types of leadership often devolve upon one person. If the person happens to be temperamentally or professionally most fitted for one of these, the other areas suffer. It is therefore essential that, where recreation is planned in which all three types of leadership are involved, different individuals undertake specific areas of the project.

LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

Recreational leaders in a democracy must seek to meet the four basic requirements of the democratic life pattern: freedom, status, participation, and responsibility.[7] This can be achieved in a number of ways, among which are activity situations, the function of the leader in his relations to participants, discussions, and free expression of views and of dissatisfactions. The latter serves both as a means of discharging emotional pressures and as a method of intellectual clarification.

Lay leaders, especially lay boards, are important here. The democratic nature of a recreational center frequently emanates from its attitudes. Board members who are harsh and stern, dictatorial and unsympathetic, create insecurity and tension in the directors and staff, so that the latter are unable to function with spontaneity, freedom, and friendliness. Where there is fear of authority on the part of the staff, it is not likely that a creative or democratic educational structure will emerge.

[7] See page 77.

Board members ought not to consider it their function to "inspect" for the purpose of finding things for approval or disapproval; rather, they should be participants. In some instances, they can actually take charge of some of the activities on a voluntary basis or act in a consultative role on practical matters, attend meetings, and serve on committees.

Where there is such a friendly and co-operative relation, the executive secretary or director is able to establish a similar relation with his staff. Anxiety and insecurity on his part are passed on to his subordinates, who in turn pass them on to the children, young people, and adults in the recreational center. A staff can give of itself only to the extent to which it feels stimulated and unconstrained, and can employ the democratic pattern where it itself participates in determining the program, methods, and plan of work. It is of utmost importance that, except in extreme cases and in emergencies, executive secretaries and head workers do not resort to peremptory instructions. Staff members cannot translate peremptoriness into democracy.

Frequent meetings of staff and board should be held in which all participate freely. Practical problems with which the agency is faced, including financial matters, ought to be the concern of all, as well as the educational work. Only when an institution gives status and encourages participation can it expect real responsibility. The spirit of democracy is passed on from above; it can be also choked off at that source.

VARIETIES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership in a democratic society and education can be classified as shared, shifting, reciprocal, alternate, permanent, extensive, and temporary.

Shared leadership in a group occurs when the group chooses different individuals to take responsibility for the different areas of a project or plan. The committee system is an example of shared leadership. Leadership shifts within a group when different individuals step into the foreground because of special gifts and abilities. At one time, some members rise to leadership because of their dramatic prowess; at other times, the literary rise to the fore because of their special ability.

Other persons in the group with administrative or money-raising talents take over the helm when their talents serve the group needs at the moment. Such leadership is temporary, as contrasted with the permanent type of leadership.

Reciprocal leadership is one in which a number of people take the roles of leadership and followership in accordance with the circumstances that arise. In arranging a dance, for example, the chairman of the Financial Committee, where he is a leader, may also be a member of the dramatic cast, where he follows the leadership of the dramatic chairman; and vice versa. Alternate leadership occurs between leader and participants when the former stimulates activity and withdraws as soon as that activity gets under way. As soon as the activity begins to slow up, the leader again steps in, stimulates the group, and withdraws when a new impetus has been given to it.[8] Depending upon the nature of the group process, leadership may be extensive—that is, it may extend through long periods, or of short duration. In a democracy, even long-lived leadership is temporary; it cannot be extensive and permanent. Permanent leadership is possible only in a dictatorship or autocracy.

[8] See Footnote, p. 148.

CHAPTER IX

Supervision: A Creative Relation

THE SUPERVISOR is one to whom the recreational leader and group worker turn for guidance and information. He is the person to whom they come for advice on such matters as their jobs, materials and activities, behavior of participants, and their own functions. The supervisor must therefore be a person equipped to deal with the many problems in recreation and in a large number of related areas through first-hand experience. Academic information alone is not adequate to discharge the many duties that devolve on him.

THE SUPERVISOR AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Once a team of boys insisted upon initiating their members through hazing. The coach did not approve, but did not wish to be arbitrary with his boys. He turned to the supervisor for advice as to how to deal with this problem. In such a situation, the supervisor must know the etiology of hazing, its anthropological meaning, its function in primitive society, and its psychological meaning to the boys. Without such understanding, the adult would almost certainly make the mistake of frustrating the group and antagonizing it.

The supervisor might have referred the coach to a book on the subject, but, since he knew that the latter had little time for reading, it was necessary for the supervisor to give him the information on hazing and initiation. In primitive societies, initiation was a form of testing one's readiness to participate in the food-getting and warring activities of the tribe, for which there is no need in modern times. Hazing was a method of breaking the will of young people in order to force them to submit to the authority of the gens, or tribe, and chiefs and shamans. Hazing is also an expression of unconscious cruelty and sadism. However, theory alone was not enough. The coach did not know how to deal with the group

of boys in this situation, so that it was necessary that he be given definite instructions.

Another typical situation arose when the gym director came to the supervisor with a severe problem of conflict that made teamwork impossible among the young men who used the gym. Apparently, there were two cliques that he could not deal with. Before any specific advice for action can be given in such a rift, it is necessary to analyze first the elements that produce the schism. Is there a struggle for leadership? Is it a matter of personal antipathy among some leading members of the two factions? Are there ideological differences, such as overemphasis on prizes and banners on the part of one of the factions, to which the other is opposed? The boys may have to be understood as individuals and the homes of the most difficult ones investigated before the cause for the rift can be ascertained. Do the instigators of the cliques duplicate conflicts at home and release their repressed hostility in the gym? Different causes will suggest different solutions. In one case, giving status to some of the leading members may solve the problem. In another, it may be necessary to dismiss one or more of the boys as "inoperable" and refer them for psychological therapy. Reshuffling of the groups may be necessary under another set of conditions. The supervisor first has to help the director locate the difficulty and identify the disturbing factors and sensitize him to the situation, in order that he may come to understand the problem and find security in his knowledge. This is the *indirect method* of education and supervision.

Frequently, an impasse does not require such basic approaches. It may be overcome by rearrangement of time schedules, which would separate the contending cliques, or by supplying more suitable activities. A discussion meeting to ventilate feelings may result in a "gentlemen's agreement" or may actually eliminate the existing emotional tensions. This is the *direct method* of dealing with a problem.

Then again, the game-room director comes to the supervisor for advice as to the type of materials he ought to have to stimulate activity for which he feels the participants are ready. He may ask for a list of books and poems that would interest his

group. He may want to start group projects or initiate more active games. Here the staff member seeks from the supervisor definite suggestions, not theoretical information. He needs direct, specific information, with lists, catalogues, books, activities, and methods. These the supervisor must be ready to supply.

THE SUPERVISOR AS A GUIDE

We have attempted to indicate sketchily several types of adjustments the supervisor has to make. We see him in the capacity of social philosopher, as a consultant on personality problems, as an expert in group dynamics and interpersonal tensions, and as an authority on activities and materials. The supervisor's function is in many instances even deeper and more subtle, for staff members come to him for their own inner needs as well. When one chooses recreation, either as a profession or as an avocation, he does so for some psychological need of his own. Reward and compensation are not always measured in terms of money. Other satisfactions motivate choice, and the supervisor must be able to recognize these motives. He has to be cognizant of the personality of each member of his staff and supervise each accordingly. One leader may seek security through a group; he may feel shy and uncertain of himself with adults, and need the assurance and status he receives in and through young people. Another craves power, denied him for various reasons in his everyday relations, and takes up coaching and training others to satisfy this craving. Some are motivated by "tender emotions," while others are identified with the suffering of children because of their own unhappiness in childhood. To some, it is an escape from the unpleasantness of their home environment, while still others seek their own growth and development.

The supervisor, being aware of these motives, becomes an educator and a guide in the leaders' own growth. He utilizes the supervisory relation to help their development by meeting deeper needs, thereby enabling them to become more effective in their work. Every person can give to a situation only what he brings to it; and if the supervisor can enlarge capacities for insight and expression, widen interests and knowledge in

the staff and volunteers, he is benefiting the children, the young people, and the adults being served. When we view supervision in this light, we find that it is more than giving information or criticizing. Direct criticism, particularly, often yields negative results. Instead of encouraging the worker to improve, it may only emphasize already existing feelings of inadequacy and failure, and performance may become even worse as a result. In many instances the inductive method is more effective than direct instruction. A worker who is first asked to justify his approach and actions, and then helped to recognize for himself his errors, feels less threatened than when his errors are pointed out. The Socratic dialogue or an objective theoretic discussion is more effective than branding any act outright as an error. It is always better to lead the worker to say, "I can now see what I did was wrong," than to have it come from the supervisor.[1]

Everyone needs security and acceptance, and good and humane supervision bases itself upon this principle. It requires ordinary insight to know how far one can go with any individual. The sensitive man or woman who comes to us for supervision must evidently be treated quite differently from a person who is more tough-skinned and who can be more objective about himself. Sensitivity and self-protection against hurt to one's ego are quickly registered, either through facial expression, shifting in the seat, an overwillingness to agree with criticism, or ingratiation. These are defensive devices. A supervisor must be very careful with such people, particularly because the very best educators come from this group.

THE NEED FOR CLARITY AND DEFINITENESS

The supervisor must also have a clear idea as to his aims and objectives, and the methods through which he is to attain them. He must be definite as to the quality and type of a job he can do—whether it is to be formal, progressive, or a compromise between the two. His approach would necessarily differ for each case. If the supervisor is indefinite or confused, he will confuse his staff and make them insecure and ineffective.

[1] For a detailed discussion of this point, see Slavson, S. R., *Creative Group Education* (New York, Association Press, 1937), pp. 191-214.

They will be at a loss as to procedures and content of their programs. A clear definition of objectives is therefore essential, and a specific method suited to the objective must be clearly defined. All plans and aims have to be evaluated in terms of attainable reality, for it is not always possible to do quite as good a job as one would wish. The limitations of the director and board of an institution may prevent it; facilities and materials may not be available; the personnel may be inadequate. All elements need to be taken into consideration, and a balance struck between ideal aims and attainable ends. Definiteness that allows for growth and expansion gives security to all concerned.

To recognize limitations realistically does not mean that one must remain static. Progress can be made even within the boundaries imposed by administrative and board encumbrances, and by finances. Quality of performance cannot be prevented; no sanction by authorities is required for it, and it can be frequently attained with little or no expense. But when performance is at its optimum within a given setting, there are possibilities that resources may be made available for further improvement and expansion. Actions speak louder than words, but effective action is not begotten by confusion and strain. It is therefore more advisable to do a creditable job within limitations than to spread oneself thin and produce indifferent or inferior results. Quality is to be preferred to quantity.

Not only does the supervisor have to be cognizant of administrative limitations, but he must also take into consideration the limitations of each worker. A leader of a club who was pressed by his supervisor to be more "progressive" admitted his inadequacy by saying: "I must confess that temperamentally I cannot give the boys as much freedom as you speak of." This frank avowal of the leader's limitation is significant. In the first place, he seemed to have grasped our aim and was able to contrast it with his own capacities. Also, he felt free to state his views honestly, even though they were contrary to those of the supervisor. There was nothing to do in this situation but allow the leader to go on with his work in accordance with

his own ability. He himself later became dissatisfied and gave up club leadership altogether.

A good supervisor is a person who is sensitive to other people, not only to matters that relate to himself. He can judge both basic character and temporary moods. An example of this is the case of a young man who once came for a "supervision conference." One glance at him made it quite evident that he was too upset and fatigued to be receptive. In such a state, the young man would interpret any statement made to him by the supervisor as hostile. He would disagree, haggle, argue. Not only would misunderstanding result, but the relation between the two would be jeopardized. The supervisor therefore turned to the worker and asked: "Are you tired today, Harry?" The worker replied: "Yes, I am pretty tired." "Well, how about a rest? We have a cot here in the building." "It's a good idea," replied the worker, who soon went to sleep and slept for two hours. Now he was ready for supervision.

Then again one recalls the art director who, though very creative and understanding, was extremely on the defensive and could not bear even slight criticism. Ordinarily, a person unable to take criticism is also incapable of growth, and people in education and recreation must be receptive to new ideas in order to grow. Yet one felt that this particular staff member had great promise. It was therefore necessary to convince him of his abilities and overlook minor errors and defects. At first only the positive aspects of his work were emphasized, until, after four months, he grew secure enough to accept criticism and suggestions.

Many persons who do well with children have childlike characteristics themselves. These childlike remnants help them to identify themselves with children and to understand them. This is a great asset, for children feel drawn to them because of this similarity. In one leader this immaturity took the form of neglect and unpunctuality, but the children loved him for his gentleness and charm. The boys were both proud of and very loyal to him; he was their ideal. Yet these positive qualities were offset by the habit of inconvenient and irritating neglect and procrastination in essential routines. Records were delayed and work materials unavailable when needed. It was

a question then of balancing the good against the bad, and the positive elements evidently outweighed the negative. When a good relationship between this worker and the supervisor was established, a moderate degree of firmness, such as one uses with a child, produced results.

A young woman, sensitive and gentle, carried great weight with the girls in her group and had a valuable influence over them. She was very difficult to supervise, however. Being a voluble talker, she had to work out the whole process in the group by talking to the supervisor. She talked quietly, and one felt that as she talked the meaning of what had transpired at the meetings became clearer to her. The supervisor, under these conditions, served as a sort of sounding board. Once a secretary was called in to take down some of the material as she talked. When the secretary left, the leader's face expressed great disappointment, and she said: "I don't think I did a good job of this [the dictation]. You know what I really want is to talk things over with you." She was apparently not aware that she did all the talking. However, even with such workers, points come up when questions can be asked and a conversation concerning some of the activities instituted during which the supervisor can express his views and evaluate those of the worker. But it must be done gently, with no trace of challenge or blame.

ACTIVE VERSUS "SWIVEL-CHAIR" SUPERVISION

There are two kinds of supervision, which may be described as the *swivel-chair type* and the *active type.* The swivel-chair type of supervision is one in which the supervisor remains in his office while problems are brought to him by the staff. Active supervision is carried on when the supervisor visits the gym, playgrounds, activity areas, and group meetings, and thus gains a firsthand knowledge of what goes on. One must make oneself unobtrusive during such visits, however, so as not to disturb people at work or play. Some activities may need further observation, while others that are doing well will require no further supervision. The supervisor must be able to sense the danger spots, cliques, resentments, and hostilities, as well as constructive, creative possibilities. These can also be discerned

from staff reports and through the supervision conferences.

It is clear that no single method of supervision is applicable to all settings. Supervision, like any relationship with people, is fluid and flexible, and is adapted to the particular situation and specific needs of the persons involved. Clashes between the supervisor and some of the workers, proceeding from temperamental or ideological differences, are unavoidable in practice. One must recognize these and deal with them in a suitable manner. The supervisor may be the symbol of authority to a worker who has a neurotic need to oppose and fight. Very little can be done by way of supervision in such a case.

THE SUPERVISOR AS EDUCATOR

The good supervisor must help his staff to find interests and guide them to find a form of creative expression that would satisfy and sustain them. This is extremely important to staff members, for the more evolved and alert they are, the more significant will be their contribution to the recreational or educational project.

In public education, particularly, supervisors and heads of departments have the notion that they must be feared and that their authority must be unmistakenly felt. Their entry into a room must freeze everyone in it, teacher and children alike. But real authority in a democracy comes from excellence and helpfulness, not from fear. It is aristocracy of performance, not aristocracy of position, that is valued. Many people are rather like zeros, their value being in their positions; but, creative supervision cannot countenance such relationships. It aims to relax and to release, and only socially motivated and perceptive people should be engaged in supervision. The creative supervisor is, in a sense, the best type of educator. Not only must he possess a great deal of information and the ability to integrate different types of knowledge, but he should also have the capacity to convey that knowledge to others without austerity and pomp. He should at all times be friendly and informal. In a democratic enterprise, people do not wish to be criticized or take orders; they prefer to be guided, and this must be done without injury to their feelings of self-worth. While occasionally it may be necessary to use what might be

termed a "shock method" to get desired results, this must be employed with discretion. Generally speaking, supervision is a creative relationship in which the atmosphere of friendship and helpfulness are predominant; and the qualifications for a supervisor envisage him, not as superhuman, but rather as a superior human. This is equally true of teachers, group leaders, and recreationists.

UNCONSCIOUS ATTITUDES

Little has been said so far of the role the supervisor assumes in the mind of the supervisee. Just as the leader or director in recreation plays a symbolic role in the minds of children and young people and adults, so does the supervisor assume significances that may or may not be rooted in actuality. Every person in authority automatically arouses ambivalent feelings in subordinates. Consciously or unconsciously, they fear him; and, to allay this fear, they seek to submit and accept his authority. At the same time, they also feel antagonistic because of their submission. Their ego drives and strivings for autonomy and status cause them to resent it, and they become unconsciously hostile. Such hostility may be withheld or deeply repressed, but it needs little encouragement to become overt and articulate. A supervisee may disguise, quite unconsciously of course, intense antagonism by ebullient friendship, exaggerated loyalty, ready acquiescence, or ingratiation. The smoldering embers of resentment and antagonism, however, can easily burst in flames under favorable conditions.

Even under ordinary circumstances, the fundamental antipathy toward a person who has superior status or is in authority makes itself felt. Stray remarks of disguised sarcasm, biting humor, and disposition to gossip about a superior are some of the straws that indicate where the wind blows. His slightest error or misstep is exaggerated, until it assumes disproportionate significance and unwarranted importance. When enough of the subordinates accumulate resentment and find support and justification in one another, little instigation is necessary to bring the hostility to the surface. On the other hand, each feels the need for the security, support, and guidance of the person in the position of directorship or responsibility. With-

out him they feel lost, insecure, and anxious. Conflicting feelings arise from the fact that people would like to receive help without being placed in a position of being helped. We see here the complicated and irrational attitude toward authority. Consciously people resent authority, but unconsciously they admire superiority and power, so that the person in authority must somehow maintain a middle course. He must help and give security without arousing jealousy and resentment.

As we analyze further the underlying and conflicting motives involved in the domination-submission relation, we can see clearly in it the replica of the father-child pattern. The child, for reasons that cannot be discussed at this point, has conflicting feelings (ambivalence) about the authority of the father. He needs and desires the parents' attention, which usually takes the form of authority and restriction, at the same time that he resents them. He also resents the father because the latter stands in the way of his enjoying the mother's full love. These feelings begin in very early childhood and become associated with all authority, until later in life they are redirected upon everyone in that relation, including the recreational supervisor. The intensity of these feelings vary greatly in different people, though the feelings themselves are universal, and in his work the supervisor has to be aware of them. He has to deal with them and be prepared to accept much hostility with poise and equanimity. He who knows and understands is in control of a situation.

CHAPTER X

Community Resources

IN THIS CHAPTER we shall attempt to outline some of the major agencies in the community that concern themselves with recreation directly or indirectly.

Recreation in the Home

As in all other respects, the first experiences that influence later preferences for and enjoyment of recreation occur in the home. Children readily absorb social attitudes, become considerate, and take up worth-while leisure occupations in a good and stable home. Where recreation of parents, older brothers and sisters, and their friends are of a more evolved character, dispositions for similar interests develop in the younger children. Where, on the other hand, the models are more primitive, the likelihood is that they too will adopt the same forms of self-expression. Recreation in the family circle largely depends upon the background of the parents and the physical, financial, and cultural facilities in the home and neighborhood.

Indoor recreation in the home includes games and hobbies, radio, reading, parties, concerts, musicales, and dances. Where facilities exist, outdoor games like tennis, croquet, and badminton are suitable for young and old. Tea parties, movies, the theater, hikes, visits to museums, concerts, picnics, trips and travel, or just visiting friends are among the away-from-home recreational possibilities. Recreation need not be limited in the home and elsewhere exclusively to group or mass activities. There is a need for developing an ability to enjoy oneself and find peace and serenity in periodic solitary occupations, such as reading, radio, walking, and thinking. Where the home circle is oppressed by poverty and financial stress, and congestion and overcrowding gnaw at the very souls of the occupants of hovels and flats, the more or less rosy picture

we envisage does not apply. Refinement of taste is not possible under such circumstances, and mutual regard is at its lowest ebb. People who are constantly in one another's way must of necessity seek escape from their oppressive environment in avenues of least resistance, which, in most instances, is commercial recreation.

As already indicated elsewhere, a good neighborhood recreational center, which may be in a church, school, settlement, or other agency, becomes for children, youth, and adults the only source of culture and refinement of taste. The appeal is usually made to individuals, but recreational projects that help to bring members of the family closer together are of great value in a world where family relationships are rapidly disintegrating. Some of the devices employed are father-and-son and mother-and-daughter projects, which take the forms of dinners, picnics, games, hobbies, and baking and cooking contests. Whenever possible, more active projects are introduced on which parents and their children work together. Large affairs for raising funds by parents and children for the neighborhood center, church, or community are usual. Common interests that originate in the center are frequently carried over into the home and form a basis for relationships and for desirable leisure-time interests.

In recent years, a great many homes have provided "rumpus rooms," often in the basement, where games, tools, cook-in equipment, rough-and-ready furniture, a radio or record machine for dancing, books, and other facilities are available. This commendable development is recognized by many architects in planning new homes. Similarly, back yards that include fireplaces, croquet, lawn bowls, swings, slides, marble rings, and the like add to the recreational resources of more and more homes. Such provisions are impossible in old or crowded apartment neighborhoods, but many new housing developments include some of them, even adding recreational supervision to their staffs. These trends should have the fullest support.

Parents and children whose interests coincide establish a real rapport through them. In one such instance known to the writer, the father's hobby was electricity. He tinkered with different electric apparatus in the home in a room set apart

for this purpose. The father had the foresight to observe his son's developing interest in the same subject, which began with electric trains and a flashlight. Later the boy became interested in magnets, electric bells, and other simple apparatus that the father provided. The father assigned to his son a corner in his own workroom, on condition that the boy work quietly. At different points of their separate occupations, they found it necessary to exchange ideas and to work together. At times the father needed the son's help to hold wires when he worked, and at other times the boy needed the father's guidance. Soon the two began attending science fairs, electrical exhibits, and scientific museums together. They shared magazines and books, and frequently discussed various subjects related to their common interest.

The young son of another family attended a neighborhood center where he developed an interest in carpentry. He once brought home a rather attractive and well-finished corner shelf of his own making. It was so well made that the mother hung it up in the living room. The father was impressed with the result of his son's efforts and decided to equip a small workshop for the boy in the basement of their home. Soon the father joined in this activity; and both spent many pleasant hours working together, helping each other, and exchanging ideas. Concerning this development, the mother said:

> There is an altogether different atmosphere now in the house. Whereas in the past each one went about his own business, there is now a better family feeling. My husband used to spend most of his time in the evening reading his paper and listening to the radio, while the boy would stay in his room listening to programs he liked on his own radio set. There was a certain individualistic atmosphere in our home. Now the two men seem to have so much to say to each other that when they are together, they hardly have time to listen to the radio.

Out of this interest others have developed. Father and son, according to the mother, began to devise different methods of construction, studied different types of wood and finishes, spent time together in antique shops, bought a book on period furniture, and played ball or went for walks and boat rides together.

Another instance comes to mind where a recreational interest served to allay conflict between two young girls in a home. In this family, the two sisters were in frequent fights. They quarreled about toys, the order in their room, which both occupied, and were generally in a state of disharmony. The older girl once made a rag doll at the neighborhood center that she attended, and since she had little use for it herself, being twelve years old, gave it to her sister. The younger girl, overwhelmed and pleased with the present, wanted to know how a doll like this was made, which gave the older girl a sense of importance as she proceeded to instruct the younger sister. From this beginning grew a number of projects in sewing. The mother then wisely provided the girls with sewing things, paper, paint, clay, and a doll house. From then on there have been long periods of completely harmonious play and sharing between the two children. Conflicts between them have been reduced; and soon after the older girl consented to take her younger sister to the center, where she too joined a play group.

Parents would do well to take an active part in their children's play and recreation; they ought to go with them riding, on hikes, picnics, fishing and boating, and to museums and movies. The children's friends should be also included in these trips and visits. In their contacts with parents, recreationists should encourage such co-operative recreation in the home. It is often necessary to give parents specific suggestions as to projects and activities. To help bring parents and children together, some recreational centers have groups for parents where they are encouraged to take an active part in the maintenance and conduct of the center. The staff discuss with them activities, programs, and finances. In some instances permanent rooms for fathers and mothers are set aside, which they themselves equip and where they plan and conduct their programs and raise the necessary funds. Through these and similar means, parents and children are brought closer together at home because they have the activities of the center as a common interest.

In other neighborhood centers, a plan of "family membership" is employed with the same end in view. In order that a

child or youth may belong to the center, it is required that parents and other members of the family also join. This is a new idea and has possibilities. In congested and deprived neighborhoods, centers, playgrounds, and parks are used as "dumping grounds" for children who are in their parents' way. This seems to be their only interest in the recreational facilities offered. Although it is important that these attitudes are changed, it remains to be seen whether this can be achieved through "family membership."

PUBLIC RECREATION

Until very recently, municipal, state, and Federal governments concerned themselves very little with recreation. Small and large parks were usually provided and maintained by local and national governments where people could spend time at leisure, away from the crowded tenements and streets. In fact, until recent years people were prohibited from entering upon grass spaces and lawns in cities and towns. In the parks they were confined entirely to the paved walks and benches. In some of the larger parks there were rustic paths leading through wooded sections to break the monotony of the macadam and brick walks. Large cities usually had one or more botanical gardens and a zoo for the edification of idlers, who would stand about and look. Of course there always were one or two baseball diamonds, and in some instances there was provision for tennis during specified hours for those who made advance reservations. Where a lake was available, there was boating. Occasionally a band played during the summer months.

Parks such as these were designed mostly for young people and adults. They were usually located far from the congested centers and tenement sections of cities, and children could not travel there unaccompanied. As a result, children filled their leisure time by playing on the streets, in halls and cellars, and in small back-yard areas. There were no recreational or special outlets aside from the privately endowed centers and settlement houses, which were few and far between in large cities and nonexistent in smaller cities and towns. A comparatively small number of young people, therefore, found recreational outlets in a wholesome environment and under skilled supervision.

The majority spent their time grouped around hallways, in poolrooms and "social clubs." Both of the latter were of a questionable character and undesirable reputation. Clubs would arrange dances during the winter, but much of the members' time was spent in card playing, idling about, smoking, and bantering. During the summer, one or two outings or boat rides would be arranged. These clubs reached comparatively few young people. The majority were at loose ends; many formed gangs; and a goodly number got themselves into difficulties with their families, neighbors, and the law.

As far as adults were concerned, no recreational facilities were provided for them. In fact, adults were not thought of as needing recreation, which may have been the case at a time when work hours were from twelve to fourteen hours a day. Whatever free time there was in those days was spent with lodges, societies, and in church. Those who were not so engaged, of course, always had the poolroom, the saloon, the cafe, and the "gambling joint."

The dearth of recreational facilities for children, particularly, claimed the attention of public-minded people of the settlement houses. Because of the appalling number of child fatalities on traffic-infested streets, pressure was exerted upon municipalities to rope off play streets where travel was restricted during certain hours. No supervision was provided for the children who used such play blocks, however. Their only service was to protect the children from being run down by the rapidly increasing number of motor cars and trucks.

In spite of the fact that there was no equipment and no provision made for placing such equipment, these play blocks proved at once both valuable and inadequate. As pressure from public-minded citizens and educators had been put upon municipal authorities, the idea of play blocks was extended to play areas. The latter usually consisted of corner lots of various sizes, fenced in and open either all day or after school hours. The original play areas were ugly and depressing. They were covered with cinders, and the equipment consisted of benches and a row or two of swings. Play spaces were not supervised, though for many years they were the sole recreational outlets provided by cities.

As private recreational and neighborhood agencies experimented with new methods and expanded the facilities of recreation, and as the understanding of its importance to children and adults was extended, the contrast between private and public efforts became particularly apparent. Two additional factors served in bringing home the Government's responsibility for recreation. One of them was the surprising physical unfitness of young people in America, as revealed by the draft in 1918. The second was a growing feeling that, if the Government is "for the people," it has definite duties to perform "to the people" in all areas in which health and well-being are involved. Recreation was one of them.

As a result of this awareness, Boards of Education, Park Departments, and Recreational Commissions have extended and intensified their efforts to provide suitable recreation. State governments have turned their attention to developing picnic grounds, parks, and other opportunities for getting people out of cities into the country. The Federal Government, through its publications, the Children's Bureau, and the Bureau of Public Health has also turned its attention to recreational needs of the public. In cities, the number of play areas and small and large play parks have been constantly on the increase. But the increased number is not the only development of this new trend. Play areas and parks are now more adequately equipped for recreation, both for children and adults. In addition to the old swings, there were added swimming pools, roller skating rinks, wading pools, ball diamonds, tennis courts, shuffleboard, quoit ranges, handball courts, sand piles, toy houses, marionette shows, and other play and recreational resources of a great variety.

Following the example of private agencies, public recreation now includes such activities as arts and crafts, woodwork, metal crafts, and other types of manual occupations; groups and clubs such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls; group singing, dancing, and various other forms of musical and group expression; airplane model clubs, science clubs, explorer's clubs, and other special-interest groups; large group projects such as model communities, model railways, and airplane fields; rural walks, paths, bicycle runs, skating rinks, bridle paths, tennis

courts, boating, coasting, wading, swimming, and other large-muscle activities. Equipment, leadership, and supervision have been extended for individual hobbies and club activities. To accomplish this wide and far-reaching program, there are provided in some large cities trained supervision and buildings designed and equipped for special activities. Of special note is the fact that adequately trained staffs are now requisite in many cities and towns.

Just as private recreation agencies have attempted to promote the interests of ethnic and national groups, public recreation as well has followed these lines. It is recognized that people do not easily throw off backgrounds and early influences or readily take on new feelings and values. The psychological reorientation to a new country and culture is only partially accomplished by adult immigrants. The first generation of natives carry over the influences and attitudes of their parents and intermix them with the influences of the native culture.

Because our culture is a pluralistic one—its complexion is an outcome of the fusing of the contributions of the various cultures from which the immigrants came—each group maintains to varying degrees its own values, habits, and manners; and it is neither possible nor desirable to eliminate their recreational and leisure-time preferences. Native music and native dramatics, lectures, and folklore are essential and precious. Recreationists encourage folk music, dramatics, games, and the other arts, and arrange "Nationality Days" in which members of a particular nationality present indigenous folk dances and folk music.

Recognition of the place of recreation in the modern community has been rapidly growing. The more progressive neighborhood centers and "Y's" emphasize the fact that recreation is more than "physical education" and "play." Recreation is also a community experience; it is a medium of social participation that must be made meaningful. An important and new development in public recreation is the fact that the community participates in planning its own recreation. In one or two cities, park officials went among the people in the neighborhood and stirred up an interest in their own recreation. They

formed committees, consulted with existing organized non-political groups, and called conferences to discuss and plan community recreation in and outside the parks. Participation of people in community affairs, such as recreation, is of immense importance to our democratic form of government. The more this is practiced, the more entrenched the democratic idea becomes.

Leadership in this development in public recreation is in some instances supplied by the Park Department. In other cities there is a specially set up Recreational Commission paralleling the Board of Education. In some cities schools are open for recreation after school hours. In a few instances, the Boards of Education and the Recreation Commission are one and the same body. In this way official education and informal recreation are fused into one effort and compliment each other. Whether this is a desirable development or not remains to be seen, for there is a risk in turning over free recreation to classroom-minded, didactic teachers and principals. There is danger here that the authoritarian teacher's attitude may be carried over into recreation, which should be free and spontaneous.

There is considerable controversy at the present time as to whether recreation, as a social function, should continue as a private enterprise or be taken over by the Government. A good deal can be said on both sides. There is no doubt that recreation is as much a function of government as are public health and schools. It must be considered as one of the major concerns of an intelligent citizen-centered society. However, the danger here lies in the fact that huge official departments, with their inevitable rigid bureaucracy and systemization, may regiment recreation to the same degree that schools are regimented by Boards of Education.

People are different; they have different cravings, talents, and preferences. Individual participation and flexibility are important. Whether individualization and flexibility can be obtained through a governmental bureau is subject to experiment.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

Long before schools and other government facilities were made available for people in congested neighborhoods, private

agencies arose to meet their leisure-time needs. Within the last century, organized efforts in this direction have been made by settlement houses, various "Y's", Boy and Girl Scouts, camps, and many other agencies. The aim of the early settlements was "to give help where help is most needed," and to correct and improve social and economic conditions. They have gradually extended their services to provide wholesome occupations during leisure hours, first for adults and later for children and youth. The early settlements and other similar institutions provided kindergartens, playgrounds and play streets, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and libraries, and worked for general improvement in the physical and spiritual conditions of the people in neighborhoods. They promoted school and back-yard gardens, provided classes for adults, and made other similar efforts, including concerts, dramatics, art groups, clubs, games, camps, and other means of making people's free time constructive and valuable.

Since municipal, state, and Federal governments began only recently to take steps toward meeting leisure-time needs, it devolved upon private agencies to do so for many years. Mass recreation, block parties, dances, and concerts preceded the direct, face-to-face activities, such as clubs, special-interest groups, roof gardens, gyms, swimming pools, dance halls, picnics, summer camps, and day camps. As they served the total community, they offered programs for adults and children of different ages and backgrounds. One of the important contributions of the private recreational agency is the fact that it provides for democratic experience. Still another of its services to the neighborhood and to American life lies in the fact that it provides contact for various nationality groups. The less cultured especially find it difficult to break down feelings of distance and strangeness toward members of another group, and the neighborhood recreation center was for many years their only meeting ground. This is particularly valuable for first-generation Americans.

The National Recreation Association has made a notable contribution to American life through its stimulation of interest in recreation, especially in public and school recreation; through its co-ordination of efforts in public and private rec-

reational agencies; through its publication of a journal, outlines, and handbooks, and through studies and surveys that it conducts. The more recently organized American Recreation-Education Council is a co-operative, co-ordinating agency of the larger public and private agencies, whose aim it is to develop a broader base for recreation as it relates to the total educational process and character building. The American Association for the Study of Group Work is now endeavoring as well to extend its influence by incorporating group-work methods in recreational practices.

NURSERIES AND THE KINDERGARTENS

It has already been indicated that, to the small child, there exists no separation between playing, learning, and living. Almost every act of the small child is motivated by pleasure; and learnings, if any, are purely incidental. The child has no conscious goals,[1] unless it is a struggle for status against a brother or sister. Unconsciously, however, the child's life is full of purpose—the purpose to grow big, to develop, to become strong and healthy.

In one sense, nurseries and kindergartens fall in the area of school education; but because all activities there are really play activities, we can consider them too as part of recreation. Neighborhood centers have in recent years introduced all-day nursery groups, as well as game rooms and play areas for young children after school hours. Some centers also have "day nurseries" to care for children of working mothers. Most of the latter are custodial and have few educational facilities. Their main purpose is to provide food and physical care.

One of the developments in this field are "play schools" in centers during the summer months. Of lesser value are public-school kindergartens, where activities involve chiefly the smaller muscles, despite the fact that children of five and six are still in the large-muscle stage when they need to use their large muscles in every possible way. Cutting with scissors, pasting, and drawing with small crayons, which seem to be the curriculum of public kindergartens, do not meet the needs of young chil-

[1] See page 92.

dren. In fact, they may do considerable harm. Little children also react negatively to the rigidity and restriction in the total setup. As a result, many of them become troublesome. Few personal contacts and little interaction among the children are permitted, because this creates a disturbance; so that free expression, so significant to the young child, is quickly put down by the teachers in order to maintain order. Hence, genuine interests are withheld until after school hours, when the real education of the child begins. This is equally true of older children.

Comparatively few kindergartens are adequately staffed with professionally-minded supervisors or equipped with materials adequate in kind and variety to provide for the genuine and variegated needs of children. Most of the better planned nurseries and kindergartens are privately owned and maintained for those with the means to pay tuition.

SCHOOL RECREATION

A teacher writes:

> My fourth-grader's have ended their term this year with a real group project. I knew something was going on behind my back, as it were, but I did not realize what it was until the last day of school. The youngsters presented me with a gorgeous flowered housedress as a parting present. If I had been smart, I should have known what was going on, because some weeks ago one of my girls asked me: "What size dress do you wear, Miss K.? I want to buy my mother a dress, and she is exactly the same size as you are." I also noticed for some weeks past secret murmurings, and coins being passed around. Apparently the youngsters were making a collection and saving their pennies to buy me the present.
>
> I needn't tell you how much I appreciated this expression of their affection. If you were to ask me why the children responded so well this year, I could attribute it directly to the course in "group work" that I took. I have become aware that little children ought to have a good time while they are learning. My training twenty years ago emphasized hard work and discipline. I came to realize, as a result of this course, that children must also be happy. I have helped them be so this past term. Apparently they appreciated my change of attitude.

In a real sense, this teacher has adopted the principles of

recreation in her teaching. She has become aware of the whole child, rather than just of his intellect. She has come to realize that anything that is done well is done happily. The school is only second to the home in its influence upon the child in our present culture, and it must be made a *child's world,* simplified to suit his age and comprehension. In the school culture, the pressures of the larger world must be attenuated, the atmosphere and activities must be suitable to the basic needs of children. Recreation, as applied to schools, can be a number of things. The classroom practice itself may accord with the principles of recreation: the utilization of the basic personality of the child and developing an attitude of pleasure, instead of inflicting pain and being a threat. Another way would be to add to academic pursuits self-expressive, creative activity, such as art, music, dramatics, physical education, and other cultural subjects and activities. It is important to emphasize, however, that just as soon as standards of achievement are prescribed and marks, prizes, and emoluments given to some pupils and denied to others, relationships and attitudes are vitiated. Criteria and standards remove the joyfulness of the occupation. They induce strain, anxiety, fear, and guilt.

In some cities, the movement in this direction is increasing, and marks and competition are being eliminated. In a number of schools, free periods are alternated with classroom sessions, and children are dismissed periodically to areas where they can play, shout, run about, or do whatever they wish. This is of immense importance to balancing the psycho-motor organism. Another recent development is the use for recreation of school buildings and play areas after school hours. School buildings are open to pupils and others in the community for supervised play, clubs, sports, special-interest groups, and other forms of recreation. There is a distinct value in this development, especially if the school is to become the "child's world."

The values of recreation in the school are manifold. It ties up the school in the child's mind with pleasure, rather than with displeasure and fear; it continues the school's influence beyond assigned hours; it provides opportunity to observe the child in free relationships, as well as in controlled classrooms; it serves to guide pupils to vocational and avocational interests;

it has psychological guidance value; it helps tie up the school with the community; its program of stimulating leisure through sports, games, the arts, lectures, discussions, music, drama, and the dance draws in members of the surrounding community other than the pupils.

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Long before private agencies and schools had turned their attention to recreation, those with an eye for business provided for people direct but mostly vicarious outlets. There were fairs, carnivals, circuses, prizefight exhibitions, professional sports. Political demagogues have used recreation as a means of arousing public indignation, to whet prejudices, and to promulgate doctrines. It was under the aegis of businessmen that most of our recreational values and preferences have been established. The saloon, the shooting gallery, the poolroom, the dance hall, the penny arcade, and the numerous "thrill" diversions of the Coney Island type make appeal to the baser, coarser, and unrefined needs of man. Games of chance have the thrill of the unknown and the unexpected. The roller coaster and its numerous modifications of perilous rides and sudden change of altitudes and direction offer the thrill of danger and escape from it. There are also the numerous applications of the swing, giving one the pleasure of moving through space. The fortune teller satisfies the primitive belief in magic and miracles. Shooting galleries satisfy aggressive cravings.[2]

Commercial recreation not only makes appeal to the aggressive and infantile trends, but it also helps remove the feeling of responsibility and weakens conscience. Moderate drinking relaxes tension, but drunkenness removes responsibility and self-control. Alcoholics, for the most part, are individuals who escape the tyranny and pressure of their responsibilities and of conscience. Alcohol satisfies the unsublimated primitive and biological drives inherent in personality, and thereby perpetuates it in a state of infancy.

Commercial recreation with a sexual content takes many forms. There is the appeal of the "Peeping Tom" penny-slot machine; of the pornographic or near-pornographic stereopti-

[2] See Chapter II.

con; the burlesque show; the night club; the pulp magazines and "funnies," which, in addition to supplying escape from pressing reality and wish-fulfilling magic and romance, have a generous amount of sexual stimuli. Movies combine all these elements: escape, identification, infantile exaggeration, aggression, revolt against authority, romanticism, sex, miracle and magic.

In a society where private ownership is the basic principle of life, regulation by government is weak and faltering. As long as we place personal profit before public policy, the preservation of mental health will be at a low ebb. The time is coming when education and recreation will be as well regulated as is public health. Through special boards and food and sanitary laws, physical health is closely guarded and supervised by government officials. What the body ingests seems to concern us very much, but what the spirit takes in does not seem to disturb us. Only when the "sense of decency" (especially in matters of sex) is flagrantly transgressed does the law step in. When society is conducted more for the benefit of all people, rather than for the owning group, entertainment and recreation will be evaluated and approved by psychiatrists, mental hygienists, educators, recreationists, and enlightened laymen before they are offered to the public. This does not mean that only "highbrow" recreation will be permitted. However, entertainment specifically designed to aggravate and emphasize the ativistic in man should be banned. It is as important in public policy that commercial recreation be placed under control as are other public services.

INDUSTRY AND RECREATION

Up to comparatively recent times, industry's only interest in workers was their productive capacity. The relation was one of employer and employee, pure and simple, with no other mutual interest in each other or in each other's welfare. Labor was a commodity that the worker sold to his employer, and he in turn sold the product of the laborer's work at a profit. The typical attitude of the employer toward his workers was described by General Oliver, whose statement appears in the Massachusetts State Senate Document No. 21, 1868:

I inquired of an agent of a principal factory whether it was the custom of manufacturers to do anything for the physical, intellectual, and moral welfare of the working people. . . . "We never do," he said. "As for myself, I regard my work-people just as I regard my machinery. As long as they can do my work for what I choose to pay them, I keep them, getting out of them all I can. What they do or how they fare outside my walls I don't know, nor do I consider it my business to know. They must look out for themselves, as I do for myself. When my machines get old and useless, I reject them and get new ones, and these people are part of my machinery."[3]

As a result of general social and industrial development and the pressure of organized labor, we have moved a long way from such tyrannical and anti-social attitudes. The welfare and health of workers are now safeguarded by law and public opinion. No small part in creating these safeguards was played by organized labor and other humanistic elements in our democratic society. There is now greater consideration of the worker as a human being and greater awareness of his needs as a person. Physical conditions of work, health, and hours have been greatly improved by voluntary labor-employer agreements and by legislation. Participation in the management of factories and shops has been extended to workers. It is not unusual for a foreman to gather workers for a group discussion of common problems, such as the planning of the shop, the sequence of operations, speed, and grouping. Experience has shown that, as work conditions and relationships of employees and management have improved, the attitude of the workers has changed. They no longer feel themselves insignificant cogs in a wheel, or chattels. Workers have in some instances developed a feeling of belonging. They now have the satisfactions that status and participation give human beings—a feeling of self-worth, of importance. The result of this has been a surprising improvement in the productive power and efficiency of labor.

Efficiency experts have long attempted to increase production to profit the employer. Speed-up methods were used. They rearranged machinery, economized in motion, introduced the belt system, and other such mechanical devices. However, it was discovered that after the worker had adjusted to the new

[3] Kallen, H. M., *Education, the Machine, and the Worker* (New York, New Republic, Incorporated, 1925), pp. 65-66.

pattern, his productivity dropped again. The bonus system was then tried. The worker received emoluments if his production rose above the average. Strangely enough, it was discovered that even money inducements did not yield the desired results.

Knowledge of mental hygiene and understanding of the fundamental cravings of human beings have permeated through to industrial management as well. It was discovered that when a worker is resentful and unhappy, other factors being equal, his productivity is low; when he has status and is treated justly, his production rises both in quality and in quantity. The efficiency expert was therefore replaced by a labor relations counselor, who, because of his own attitudes, was able to understand the motives of men at work. Fundamentally, what every person craves is to be as creative as his capacity would permit. Monotony is baleful to all; it is irritating to many and maddening to some. At best, the impersonalism and monotony of the mechanized job is distasteful to everyone.

Industry of necessity must become more and more mechanized. This seems to be the course it will follow for some time to come. We cannot, therefore, hope to provide jobs of a creative nature for a significantly large number of people. Work will continue to be barren, but the degree of barrenness can be reduced by participation, by a sense of belonging, by worker control. Collective bargaining, which has become compulsory by law in the United States, is one of the steps in this direction. Control by shop committees, small-group discussions of workers and management, and mass meetings of large groups of employees have proved of value.

The need for recreation on the job has long been evident. This has manifested itself in various ways. As one passes a factory during lunch time, for example, one sees groups outside the buildings playing ball, quoits, horseshoes, handball, and cards. Others are seated or lying on the sidewalk or under a tree, reading or dozing; here and there groups are sitting around and talking. The average factory job is an isolating and exhausting affair; it keeps one confined and limits one to a single motion or activity. In addition, it is also socially immobilizing; one is unable to talk to fellow workers, exchange views, and give vent to spontaneous thoughts or feelings. Dur-

ing a period of relaxation, such as lunch time, workers are able to satisfy these many needs; so that it is particularly hard on them on rainy days and during the cold winter months, when they are confined indoors with no suitable provisions for relaxation and group contacts.

No provision is made in most factories for comfort, relaxation, social experience, or balancing labor with play during free hours. Some of the better managed and more modern factories, however, provide facilities for indoor and outdoor recreation. They have lunchrooms, baseball diamonds, and rooms for playing cards, checkers, and chess, or for reading and listening to the radio. Even decades ago employers arranged annual picnics, excursions, boat rides, theatricals, and smokers for workers. They recognized the importance of group association in building morale, so that, in providing recreation, modern management is only extending an old idea.

The need for leisure-time recreation outside of work hours is especially great in the many small industrial settlements where the center of community life is the factory and the population is both heterogeneous and unstable, is also culturally and ethnically diverse and, to a considerable extent, floating. A special type of recreation is needed here that would attract participants on a short-time basis.

However, in recent years, company-sponsored recreation is looked at askance by workers. Particularly is this so where a strong union exists. Workers, and especially union officials, are suspicious that this may be a method for indoctrination and of keeping workers in a satisfied mood. They feel that company-sponsored recreation may prove to be a disguised procedure to decrease discontent with existing conditions and levels of pay. Unions and workers' associations prefer to arrange for the leisure-time activities of their own members.

RECREATION IN LABOR UNIONS

The primary functions of labor unions today is to prevent too flagrant abuse of employers' powers over workers, to set rates of pay, to protect standards and conditions of work, and to regulate and control the labor market. These objectives are attained by union action and collective bargaining. But, in ad-

dition to these aims, modern labor unions are to a considerable extent returning to the fraternal relations of the old craftsmen's guilds, who were cohesive social units with programs for mutual help and protection. These secondary functions of labor unions include planned and spontaneous gatherings, education, recreation, banking, loan bureaus, sick benefits, and insurance.

At first, members met spontaneously at headquarters to talk about jobs, gossip, or play cards. Officials recognized possibilities here for planned recreation and education, and some of the more progressive locals installed libraries, reading rooms, gymnasiums, chess and checker games, organized discussion groups, lectures, and mass meetings. Some unions also set up classes in English for foreigners, Americanization, labor history, economics, literature, the drama, and groups in similar academic and semi-academic topics. Thus, labor education was fused with recreation, since there is a thin line of demarcation between good recreation and education for adults.[4] Soon such enterprises as amateur dramatics, elocution, interpretive dancing, choral groups and orchestras, social dances, concerts, bazaars, picnics, excursions, and summer and winter camps became part of the labor education program.

Preceding these developments and as early as the last century, labor unions maintained or sponsored labor lyceums. These had been important, and frequently were the only community centers in small cities and towns. They were the scene of many educational, social, and recreational activities of workers for many years. These lyceums sponsored meetings and classes for adults, Sunday schools, and after-school classes for children. They housed reading rooms and libraries, gymnasiums, and game rooms. The beer hall was an important contribution to conviviality, and many serious discussions and important business matters were settled over a glass of beer. Whereas the educational and recreational work of the labor lyceums was more or less haphazard, carried on by volunteer committees with no defined aim, plan, or objective, modern labor education has a definite philosophy, orientation, and

[4] See Slavson, S. R., "Gradations of Adult Education," in *Character Education in a Democracy* (New York, Association Press, 1939), pp. 190-203. We are omitting for the present the class emphasis in labor education.

fairly specific content. It addresses itself to the "underprivileged," and aims to supply lost opportunities and add some stimulation and color to the otherwise barren and monotonous job.

LODGES, CLUBS, AND ASSOCIATIONS

Among the earliest social efforts in this country for immigrants were private associations for mutual help, such as lodges carrying sick benefits and burial insurance, associations of immigrants from the same regions, family groups, political groups, granges, and social clubs.

These groups may not fall within the scope of recreation as it is commonly understood. However, if by recreation we mean to occupy one's free time pleasantly and constructively, it is necessary to include these groups. We have seen that even business meetings for voluntary community work and philanthropic enterprises are part of adult recreation in a democratic society.[5] In addition to their major purpose, these groups have had secondary interests: to raise money for various projects and to arrange dances, theatre parties, public dinners, outings, boat rides, and other amusements. Their value lies also in the fact that they provide social participation and genuine interests, counteract feelings of isolation, and give their members a sense of belonging and of status. In many instances, programs supply members with opportunities for self-expression. Members with leadership ability, adept at public speaking or able executives, find a field for service and self-fulfilment. Individuals and committees arrange programs, carry out administrative details, raise funds, satisfy their desires for being and working with other people, and find expression for their altruistic impulses. Recreation of this type has particular relevance to a democratic order of life, for free association is one of the pivotal patterns of democracy.

RECREATION THROUGH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Churches now recognize their functions as being humanistic as well as theistic, and ministers are turning their attention to personal problems, economic difficulties, and other maladjustments of parishioners. Church leaders have become fully aware

[5] See page 75.

of the social and economic dislocations of our times and of the secular needs of communities. One of the steps taken to meet these problems and widen church services is social education and social action. Youth movements and expansion of leisure-time programs is a major concern of the more progressive churches. Groups for young people, lectures, forums, dances, bazaars, dinners, picnics, outings, and theatricals are some of the typical activities that have been added.

Parishioners find much to occupy their leisure in arranging these various affairs, for there is considerable planning and preparatory work involved. These church activities have many elements of adult recreation, such as democratic control, group action, interchange of ideas, participation, and ego satisfactions. Sunday schools for younger children have activity programs, and some churches conduct week-day afternoon play groups, workshops, and other activities; while young people are provided with social groups, such as Epworth Leagues, Christian Endeavor, Girls' Friendly Clubs, Catholic Youth Clubs, and various young folks' groups in synagogues.

SPECIAL-INTEREST GROUPS

These groups are differentiated from those listed under lodges, clubs, and associations by the fact that the cementing factor here is a special and common activity interest, such as stamp collecting, hiking, nature study, fishing, hunting, chess, literature, dramatics, and numerous and sundry others. There are a large number of such groups scattered throughout the country. Some are local in their following; the membership of others spreads over wide areas and may be national or even international in scope. Individuals here attach themselves to such groups because of a specific interest. Like other recreational groups, they are characterized by free choice and are, therefore, important and meaningful to the participants. As in any other type of recreation, the latter's nature, development, and maturity are revealed by the choice.

The collecting needs of some individuals are satisfied by stamp, stone, or butterfly collections.[6] The focal interest of these

[6] The deeper psychologic cravings that collecting and similar occupations satisfy was discussed in Chapter II.

groups is the activity, and in some instances the participants never see one another. They communicate either through correspondence, publications, or occasional conventions. Where groups are local, there may be direct, face-to-face contact. However, the chief cementing force is the interest that all share.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

National recreational organizations cut across the various fields that have been already described and others that will be discussed later. For the purpose of completeness, however, it is necessary to mention them at this point.

There are a large number of privately sponsored national recreational associations; others are promoted by various church and national groups; still others are sponsored by political organizations. Among them are the Young Women's Christian Association, Young Men's Christian Association, Catholic Youth, the Jewish Welfare Board, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Boys' Clubs, Girls' Friendly Society, and a large number of others. Some of these national associations promote definite programs; others give greater latitude to their members' choices.

The Boy Scouts, for example, have a program with carefully prescribed standards, whereas the revised Girl Scouts program is more flexible. The "Y's" and Boys' Clubs provide buildings and leadership chiefly for sports and physical recreation, although an effort is now being made to introduce group work as a part of the program. The program of the Campfire Girls is more or less defined. The Girls' Friendly Society has a religious motivation, while Jewish centers supply recreational and education programs with definite emphasis on "Jewish content." In most instances, regional and city groups are autonomous and have their own lay boards. They finance their groups locally and, to a considerable extent, have freedom in determining some parts of the programs.

By and large, the general programs are developed, described, and outlined by "program departments" in the national offices, who train the professional workers and, indirectly, the volunteer workers. Members of the national staff participate in the training of recreational and group workers in various colleges

and schools. Since hundreds of thousands of children and young people throughout the country come under the influence of national associations, their importance in American life cannot be (and should not be) underestimated.

In recent years, and largely through the activity of the American Association for the Study of Group Work, there has been a strong movement on foot to use the small, intimate group as a tool of recreation. Some of the national organizations are particularly active in this new alignment; others are gradually, though slowly, becoming interested in it. This new approach has been set forth by Wilbur A. Joseph, as follows:

> It [group work] is essentially an educational process, the object of which is to help develop a physically and mentally healthy child and adult, adjusted to his surroundings, his fellow men, and himself, finding wholesome outlets for his talents and abilities and serving as an intelligent member of society, alive to its needs and active in solving them. It involves a responsibility similar to that of the parent, the teacher, and the physician, a responsibility for the lives of human beings, their present and future happiness, and for the welfare of society. It is a sacred trust, calling for the best that one can offer in personality and character, requiring a sympathetic insight into human nature and human problems, a specialized training and experience and a sincere interest in and concern for the happiness and fulfilment of human life.[7]

World affairs and changes in our national life have further increased the awareness of national recreational agencies. In a sharp criticism offered in a study recently made of one of these agencies, the following is stated:

> . . . more important . . . [is] the tendency for the adults in the movement to think of it as apart from and without reference to significant contemporary economic and social changes.

The study proceeds to recommend:

> . . . that the training courses for . . . leaders concern themselves more than they have with the implications of social change for the development of the movement and its role in the community picture.

[7] Hawkins, Gaynell, *Educational Experiments in Social Settlements* (New York, American Association for Adult Education, 1937), p. 114.

Another national agency pledges itself to

> . . . continue to pioneer in recreation and education and in helping individuals to adjust to a changing social order. . . . The program should provide an understanding of the position and problems of workers and employers in relation to trends in modern society. . . . Participation whenever possible in community work so that students will acquire more first-hand knowledge of social and economic conditions and of ways in which changes are brought about.

In these few quotations, we see reflected a changing vision and new horizons for group work and recreation.

HOUSING AND RESETTLEMENTS

Tenement congestion has produced considerable social pathology. Tenements, built as domiciles rather than homes, have insufficient sunshine and air, and are in many ways injurious to health and morale. Their construction is motivated by economy of space, cheapness in cost, and size of profit. As a result, inadequate provision is made for basic needs of health or morale. They are not planned for relaxation, free movement, or privacy; rather, the aim is to provide shelter from the elements. Particularly offensive and hazardous are the old frame structures, with their inadequate plumbing and ventilation. As congestion increased and buildings became more crowded and more dilapidated, a widespread population shift to less congested sections took place. Those who could afford it moved away to suburban areas; the less affluent went to more modern apartment buildings in the same neighborhoods. Coupled with this awareness concerning buildings and neighborhoods, there has been a growing recognition of the rights of the average man, be he poor or rich, to healthful living conditions, freedom of movement, more satisfactory leisure, and self-respect. Few can rise above an environment that is physically dirty and depressing. Children are a direct product of these physical conditions, as well as of the emotional and intellectual atmosphere in which they grow up.

As in other social matters, it was the presence of pathology that attracted the attention of public-minded citizens and government officials to the dangers of congestion. Studies of crime

and delinquency revealed that slums produce maladjustments, with serious social consequences; moreover, from the point of view of the community, slums are expensive, even though rents are low. The 1929 depression and unemployment, and the lowered standard of living, made the situation even more acute. Also, because of accumulated idle money in the banks at that time, as a result of the business slump, interest rates dropped to a very low level. There was therefore a pressing need to find an outlet for the idle funds. Out of these sociological, humanitarian, and financial considerations grew the plan for rehousing and resettling workers and farmers who were living, in many instances, under degenerative conditions. Resettlement was also made necessary by the depletion of land in some parts of the country, reduced incomes from farming, and the movement and closing of industries. Following the example of other European countries, particularly the Low Countries and England, the movement for government-sponsored housing spread with growing rapidity throughout this land.

No one can doubt the social importance of such a movement. Maintaining the level of living conditions for its citizens is a major responsibility of a nation. It is futile to promote health education and disseminate knowledge and culture where people are compelled to live on submarginal income in substandard homes and decaying neighborhoods. There are no substitutes for fresh air, space, and sunshine. These are essentials of life; body and mind equally require them.

Before we can discuss recreation in housing and resettlement projects, some problems inherent in them have to be understood. In the first place, the population is a congregate one; it is not homogeneous in the same sense that natural neighborhoods are because of their more or less cultural, racial, or nationalistic similarities. The common characteristics and interests that bring people of a neighborhood together as a rule are not present in a housing project. The only common factor is economic status—not social, political, religious, or other cultural similarity. The choice of tenancy is made on the basis of income only, which gives rise to serious problems. In the first place, because of this social heterogeneity, personal differences and distances among the neighbors are great. The social instru-

ments for breaking these down, such as churches, clubs, and other types of associations, are absent, though in some instances it may be possible to develop them in the course of years. There exists here also a concentration of social pathology that usually accompanies poverty and lack of culture and education. People who have had cultural advantages and later lived in housing projects became alarmed by the fact that their children are being exposed to "most undesirable influences," to use their own phrase.

In their former neighborhoods, these people had friends and associations; in the housing project, they found a concentration of ill-mannered, uncouth children, youngsters who were personally unclean and used foul language—habits that are contagious. As we know, character grows through the child's identifying himself with people in the family and in the immediate outside world; and when these are bad influences, little hope can be held out for wholesome development.

The problem is also a difficult one for adults. They have to form new associations, new friendships, as well as new identifications. The choice they have is a meager one. There is little opportunity for escape from the project's particular atmosphere. In their old neighborhoods, they had a variety of opportunities. There were friends near at hand, social groups, neighborhood centers, special-interest groups, theatres, shopping districts. Most of the housing projects are located away from these because of the Federal Government's limit upon basic land prices, and the result is a cultural hiatus.

These are only a few of the problems that housing authorities will have to grapple with in the coming years. Among the things they have to evaluate is whether large housing projects, with many hundreds of families chosen on a basis of poverty, should be grouped together; whether it would not be more advisable for municipalities and the Federal Government to build small homes in various neighborhoods where there are possibilities for ethnically, culturally, and economically diverse populations. As the situation is today, altogether new educational and recreational plans have to be made for a new congregate population removed some distance from the facilities of an average neighborhood. This can be done by privately

endowed agencies, or it can become a government responsibility. It would seem on the face of it that school, leisure-time education, and recreation should become an integral part of government housing. Where so many people are herded in compact physical propinquity, it is essential that provision be made for nurseries and kindergartens, playrooms, playgrounds, and group activities of various kinds for older children; social clubs and special-interest groups for young people; hobby and craft shops, tinker shops, parent groups, forums, discussion clubs, administrative meetings to deal with the problems of the community, and other similar enterprises for adults and youth. Dorothy Cline, counselor for the United States Housing Authority, states:

> Housing calls for a very broad interpretation of recreation. It is leisure time activity in the broad sense; it includes classes as well as work-shop activities. This brings the entire family into the recreation picture. This is such an important part of the recreation picture that we must give it different emphasis. The quality of the local personnel will determine how good the local program is; it should have minimum standards, for local objectives get lost in the total picture if they are not kept in front of the local authorities. They have to keep the objectives in mind or else it is brick and mortar program and nothing more. . . . The over-all feature of the whole program called recreation is community organization, which starts the moment anyone talks about housing. Community organization is the basic feature of housing.[8]

Thus we see how recreation, in its best sense, can be applied even in a more or less isolated community such as a housing project. Here we have combined the best possibilities for the education of children, youth, and adults, and community participation—truly a challenge to the practitioner in recreation. It is advisable, however, to plan housing projects so that they will not be isolated from the rest of the community where they are situated, even if the initial cost of land is higher. It is also desirable, to a degree that this can be achieved, that prospective tenants should not be completely uprooted. There ought to be

[8] *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on the College Training of Recreational Leaders* (New York, New York University, 1941), pp. 31-46 (mimeographed).

some continuity in their lives and early contacts and associations. Transplanting people out of their customary settings adds an additional strain with which many people find it difficult to deal psychologically. Some find it very hard to adjust to a new neighborhood, even if they have chosen it voluntarily. This is particularly true of persons with Old World ties who have lived with their own national groups. Since adjustability is a character trait that varies with individuals—some find it difficult to make new adaptations—locations of housing-project centers should not be such as to require a complete break with old contacts. If located within the old or smaller neighborhoods from which the tenants originally came, free-time recreation needs may be met by existing community facilities, such as play spaces, parks, community centers, "Y's", swimming pools, churches, and other such centers. This plan would also help absorb the newcomers to the project and eliminate the feeling of separatedness between project tenants and other neighborhood residents. Similarly, educational and free-time facilities initiated by the project residents and its staff could be opened to the surrounding community. This interchange would greatly benefit all.

In the case of resettlements, the situation is more hopeful and less charged with difficulties. New communities founded by the Government in rural districts draw, by and large, upon a more homogeneous group. It is, therefore, possible to start new social and cultural patterns; nevertheless, enlightened leadership endeavors here also to supply a cultural environment and relationships that do not differ too greatly from those the residents have had before. Continuity with the past is maintained as far as possible. Another factor is that residents of resettlements are not usually the prey of commercially sponsored amusements. They live a more quiet and peaceful life, and it is easier to develop a balanced and constructive educational and recreational program here than in a city housing project. It can be expected also that, because of the fewer diversions, residents of resettlements would be more responsive to community participation, democratic control, social responsibility, and self-government.

In response to the need for recreation in housing and reset-

tlement communities, a department was set up in the Federal Housing Bureau. Wherever the Bureau has direct charge of constructing new communities, efforts are made to provide for recreation as well. However, local authorities take the position that their responsibility ends with the construction of homes. Providing for recreation and education is not their task but the concern of other agencies. As a result, in cities where municipal recreation has not been developed or is in its initial stages, housing projects remain with little or no recreational facilities. In some instances, local housing authorities are willing to provide space for playgrounds, a gym, and sometimes even a club room or two, but no equipment, staff, or supervision.

The question of funds for equipping and staffing recreation in housing projects has been under consideration in many cities, but no clear policy has yet been evolved. In some instances, settlement houses and community centers have extension activities in the project buildings. In others, private foundations supply funds for this work. It would seem to be more in accord with democratic principles and self-responsibility to have free-time programs financed by the tenants themselves. Self-reliance and initiative are a part of democracy. It would be more in accord with a good community for the tenants not only to plan their recreation and dispense funds, but also to raise money for their own needs. Since the clientele in housing and resettlement projects have not reached the point where they consider planned recreation important to themselves and to their children, it would be a wise policy to add a small sum monthly to their rentals, which would be earmarked for this purpose—a more democratic plan than to look to priviate foundations or outside groups for support.

SUMMER CAMPS AND RESORTS

There is an Izaak Walton and a Henry Thoreau in all of us. We all yearn for a Walden of our own. There is lurking in every normal person a longing to withdraw from crowds and congestion and the proximity of other people. At best, living in towns and cities, even in villages, is something that men have learned by force of necessity but have never quite fully accepted. Fundamentally, man is a creature of nature, and his

habitat is the outdoors—space, trees, grass, and sunshine. He has not divorced himself completely from these, and is drawn toward them by a nostalgia that cannot be conquered. That there are compensations in community living is beyond question. Life in groups is secure and less dangerous. Men first grouped themselves for protection against animals and invading hordes; and, even when space was plentiful, people huddled together. In addition, community living opens social facets, extends scope and interest, produces new stimulation, and supplies new avenues of satisfactions.

An appraisal of cities by so strong a devotee of nature and the simple life as Donald Culross Peattie may be of interest here:

> . . . I am not one of those naturalists who suffer from cities, or affect to do so, nor do I find a city unnatural or uninteresting, or a rubbish heap of follies. It has always seemed to me that there is something more than mechanically admirable about a train that arrives on time, a fire department that comes when you call it, a light that leaps into the room at a touch, and a clinic that will fight for the health of a penniless man and mass for him the agencies of mercy, the X-ray, the precious radium, the anesthetics and the surgical skill. For, beyond any pay these services receive, stands out the pride in perfect performance. And above all I admire the noble impersonality of civilization that does not inquire where the recipient stands on religion or politics or race. I call this beauty, and I call it spirit—not some mystical soulfulness that nobody can define, but the spirit of man, that has been a million years a-growing.[9]

Man's basic deprivation, however, caused by the removal from his natural setting, cannot be compensated for by cultural advantages. All of us are ambivalent in this respect. Social hunger is mixed with a yearning for quiet, space, sunshine, the green of the grass, the rustle of trees. Dr. John Finley once asked his secretary to determine the early backgrounds of one hundred of the most prominent men in New York City. "Even to my astonishment," says Dr. Finley, "eighty-seven of these men had spent their boyhood on farms; walked to rural schools; had advantages of building body power in open spaces."

[9] Peattie, Donald Curloss, *A Book of Hours* (New York, G. P. Putnam Sons, 1937), pp. 187-188.

The natural preference for open spaces is met by modern recreation in many ways. Municipal, state, and Federal governments maintain tracts of land of varying sizes as public and national parks, for play, picnics, outings, camping, swimming, and boating. "Izaak Walton Leagues," Walking Clubs, and similar organizations meet the same cravings for the rustic in urbanized man. Perhaps the most direct and continuous experience of this nature are provided by summer camps for children and vacation resorts for adults.

It should be noted in passing that the summer camp idea was originated and developed in the United States. The summer camp where the child returns to a simple environment can be viewed as a logical outcome of urbanization. It is observed that many children, troublesome in the city, become tractable and quiet in the natural environment of a camp situation, where freedom, large-muscle occupations, and play are the prevailing modes of life.

Physical and mental hygiene tell us that a child in his early growth should not be forced to use small muscles, as is commonly the case in a congested environment of city living. In the order of neuromotor development, large muscles take precedence; and activities of young children must allow for the use of legs, arms, shoulders, and neck before fingers and eyes. Restrictions upon children by city environment tax and overstrain the child's organism, and therefore also his intellect and emotions. Much of the "nervousness" in children comes from this source, with resulting irritability, irrascibility, and restlessness. In camp, orderly organic development is aided. Intelligently conducted summer camps provide the child with activities that meet his individual needs. The simpler the camp, the more suitable it is; yet camp life ought not to be too extreme. It should approximate in some respects the normal conditions under which the child lives the year round, so as to preserve some continuity between the two. The basic laws of mental hygiene—continuity and slow transition from one pattern of life to another—must be observed. Rapid and sudden changes strain and frighten the child.

Of particular importance to healthy character development is the group life in camp. Here, more than anywhere outside

of the immediate family, the child has an opportunity for an intimate living situation with children and adults. He makes adaptations within himself so as to meet group requirements. He learns through necessity to curb himself in his self-indulgence. If he fails in this, the group exerts pressures and imposes standards of behavior in a direct but natural way. Because of this, and because of the satisfactions he gets from the total camp situation, the child's aggressions and antagonisms are attenuated. In camp, the child's aggressions can be redirected and sublimated in everyday work and living. He does not feel hemmed in. A good camp program gives each camper the satisfactions of achievement, recognition, and status, as a result of which he adopts constructive ways of behaving and modifies his attitudes along socially acceptable patterns.

Democratic control of camp routines is a part of good camping. Camps can be training grounds for democratic participation, responsibility, and co-operation. Instead of being imposed by adults, routines and programs can be evolved by the campers themselves, under the guidance of the staff. But under no circumstances ought such democratic participation to become burdensome or detract from the ease and pleasure of community life. Camping, being a combination of living and recreation, should not be made too difficult or too involved. Within limits, camp should be an experience in democracy; but even democracy can be carried too far and made cumbersome by its details.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of a free camp life is the unrestricted communication among the campers and with the staff. We have already seen that the educational values of free exchange of ideas, information, and thoughts among children cannot be overestimated. Children in schools and on playgrounds are considerably frustrated in this basic need, resulting in emotional disturbances, restlessness, and rebelliousness. In camp, it is possible to have freedom of verbal expression without annoyance to adults and other campers. Summer camping is more than fresh air and sunshine. It balances children's organisms by giving them expression in areas that are ordinarily inhibited. It widens horizons, for here they experience an altogether different type of environment as contrasted with city life. It removes the pressures of propinquity and congestion,

and provides experiences in social living and an education through group relationships. In these and other ways, character can be permanently affected.

The removal of children, and in some instances adults, from the city for brief periods during the summer months is being undertaken by some municipalities and by many philanthropic private organizations. Day excursions by train and bus, and jaunts into the country for "underprivileged" children and their mothers are being arranged, in addition to prolonged stays in the country. In view of the fact that at the present time there is insufficient provision for summer camping for all of the children whose parents are unable to pay for it, this is a desirable compromise. However, daily excursions cannot meet the needs of growing children. Camping must become increasingly a part of the educational and health program of the Government. In New York City, the Board of Education is experimenting with a project of summer camps for school pupils. These camps are as yet unofficially under the board's supervision.

Privately and philanthropically maintained "day camps" in cities are another compromise development in this connection. Children are taken by bus to the country, where they participate in most of the activities provided by full-time camps, and then return home to sleep. In some instances, the day activities are carried on at an in-town center, with occasional trips to parks, swimming pools, or the country.

As far as adults are concerned, summer resorts for them are designed largely as a compromise between city amusements and the desire for escaping them. Thus, in addition to such activities as swimming, boating, hiking, tennis, and golf, the program includes formal dances, theatricals, and indoor games, such as cards, checkers, and chess. The adult becomes deeply rooted in city life. What at first may have been a strain becomes a necessity and a craving. City amusements are, therefore, carried over into the country environment. Sometimes there is made an extreme effort to break away from city life by vacations on so-called "dude ranches" or through extensive hiking trips. Comparatively few people, however, engage in such strenuous summer vacations and, as already stated, in most instances they are a compromise.

An adult's summer vacation ought not be overstrenuous, as compared to his winter occupation. The human organism needs slow readaptation. If the vacation is brief, there is no time for the organism to make a transition from sedentary life to strenuous physical effort. It is of great importance that adults do not overtax themselves during brief vacations.

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